







# THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW

---

"Contributors to the QUARTERLY will be allowed all proper freedom in the expression of their thoughts outside the domain of defined doctrines, the REVIEW not holding itself responsible for the individual opinions of its contributors."

(Extract from Salutory, July, 1890.)

---

VOL. XXVII.—JULY, 1902—No. 107.

---

## DANTE'S CONCEPTION OF THE BEATIFIC VISION.<sup>1</sup>

"I rejoiced at the things that were said to me: We shall go into the house of the Lord."—Ps. 121.

HE must be a bolder man than Carlyle who would to-day assert that "the many volumes by way of commentary on Dante and his Book have, on the whole, been written with no great result." The enthusiasm with which the cult of the poet has been revived in recent years has surely been productive of high scholarship, and dispelled many obscurities. Much concerning his life and teaching is intelligible to us that to our fathers was enveloped in mystery and conjecture. The poetry, the history and the autobiography of the *Commedia* are so well explored that "he who runs may read." The theology of Dante is perhaps the one province in which happier results might have been reasonably expected. We must not be understood to imply that this study has been altogether neglected. On the other hand, it has certainly not received the attention it deserves. Non-Catholic writers have seldom the heart or patience to sound the depths of Dante's religion; nor is it perhaps unnatural that they should be out of touch with notions to them absurd and antiquated. Be this as it may, lack of sympathy is evident in the critiques of such eminent scholars as Dr. Moore and Mr. A. J. Butler—a *fortiori*, in pages containing a tithe of their erudition. Under these circumstances we need not be surprised if Catholic commen-

---

<sup>1</sup> The translations of extracts are taken either from Longfellow (L), or Carey (C), or Hazelfoot (H).

tators—unfortunately too few—lay unusual stress on the dogmatic element of the *Commedia*.

Mr. Gardner has set an example which it is to be hoped will find numerous imitators.<sup>2</sup> He has succeeded admirably, as the secular press attests, in explaining Dante's religious convictions by means of illustrations derived from the writings of theologians anterior to the fourteenth century. In the following pages, even were it possible, I shall attempt no such exhaustive comparison. My aim is rather to single out one point—and that the central idea of the *Paradiso*—and show with what skilful and almost imperceptible touches the reader is prepared for the grand climax of the final canto. Further, since the *Commedia* is before all "the *Summa* in verse" I shall endeavor to note how faithfully, even in details, this conception of the Beatific Vision reproduces in popular form the theology of St. Thomas Aquinas.

The *Paradiso* is admittedly the highest of all Dante's flights of imagination, and on that account most difficult of understanding. Following the example of Holy Scripture he does not hesitate to employ that chaste realism without which the invisible world is to the concrete mind a sealed book. Yet he insists that all materialistic notions of God and the angels are strictly speaking false, and due to the feebleness of the human mind and language. The defect is entirely on our side, since, to quote the words of Dionysius, "It is impossible for the divine ray to illumine us unless it be shrouded by sacred veils." The closing lines of the *Purgatorio* were a record of the final purification of the pilgrim-poet. The long and searching trial needed to make him fit for the company of angels was at an end, every sin and every affection to sin being purged from his soul in his passage through the despair and anguish of hell and the penitent tears of Purgatory. Fresh from the saving waters of Lethe and Eunoe, no unworthy ties remain to bind him to earth. Joyfully he follows Beatrice, his celestial guide, and with her swiftly soars heavenwards—to God, who is the goal as well as the source of all creation.

Ella è quel mare, al qual tutto si move  
Ciò ch'ella crea e che natura face.—*Par.* iii., 86-87.<sup>3</sup>

But for the action of the poem it is imperative that the pilgrim be not ushered straightway into the awful Presence-chamber, before which the attendant army would pale into insignificance. He must first pass through the outer courts and gather as he goes glimpses of increasing glory beyond. As the grandeur of an Oriental mon-

<sup>2</sup> "Dante's Ten Heavens," by Edmund G. Gardner, M. A. Second Edition Revised. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

<sup>3</sup> . . . . . This is the sea  
To which is moving onward whatsoever  
It doth create, and all that nature makes (L).



arch is shown forth in the gorgeous apparel of his slaves, so the magnificence of the King of Kings will be reflected in His servants. From their countenances and demeanor much can be inferred of the happiness which is their portion. The various heavens through which Dante has to pass—the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, the Stellar Heaven and Primum Mobile—are therefore only symbolical of the grades of bliss and the intensity of vision enjoyed by the blessed in the supreme Empyrean. The poet expressly warns his readers that the spirits appeared to him at these different stages of his upward journey to illustrate more forcibly “the many mansions” actually existing in the Father’s home and also to strengthen his feeble sight against the overwhelming brilliancy of higher spheres.

Ma tutti fanno bello il primo giro,  
E differentemente han dolce vita,  
Per sentir piu men l’sterno spiro.  
Qui si mostraron, non perchè sortita  
Sia questa spera lor; ma per far segno  
Della celestial ch’ ha men salita.—*Par.* iv., 34-39.4

Though in reality none of the nine lower heavens is its true abode the appearance of each spirit is always in strict keeping with the recognized symbolism of this or that planet. In the Sun, for instance, are gathered the great lights of the Church—doctors and teachers such as Sts. Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventure and Chrysostom. Mars, the symbol of war, controlled by the Angelic Order of Virtues, holds many of the famous warriors of history; while in Jupiter, the Heaven of Justice, rulers of renown—David, Trajan and Constantine—are met.

Beatrice alone—his “gentle guide and dear”—is a sufficient reminder of his constant progress through realms of greater happiness, were he blind to all else. Passing from one heaven to another her smile brightens and her loveliness increases apace.

E vidi le sue luci tanto mere  
Tanto gioconde, che la sua sembianza  
Vinceva gli altri e l’ultimo solere.—*Par.* xviii., 55-57.5

and again :

La bellezza mia, che per le scale  
Dell’ eterno palazzo piu s’accende,  
Com’ hai veduto, guanto piu si sale.—*Par.* xxi., 7-9.6

4 But all make beautiful the primal circle  
And have sweet life in different degrees,  
By feeling more or less the eternal breath.  
They showed themselves here, not because allotted  
This sphere has been to them, but to give sign  
Of the celestial which is least exalted (L).

5 And so translucent I beheld her eyes,  
So full of pleasure that her countenance  
Surpassed its other and its latest wont (L).

6 . . . . My beauty, that along the stairs  
Of the eternal palace more enkindles  
As thou hast seen, the farther we ascend (L).

Arrived within Saturn she abstains from smiling for this very reason that Dante's mortal sight could not endure the test. He would be turned into ashes as Semele of old by Jove's unveiled beauty. Until he is made stronger to tolerate her excessive beauty, he does not dare to gaze on that countenance in which God seemed to rejoice.

E se natura od arte fe' pasture  
Da pigliar occhi, per aver la mente,  
In carne umana o nelle sue pinture,  
Tutte adunate parrebbe niente  
Ver lo piacer divin che mi rifulse.  
Quando mi volsi al suo viso ridente.—*Par.* xxvii., 91-96.<sup>7</sup>

On reaching the Empyrean Beatrice's loveliness exceeds all powers of description. Whatever has been said before can give no true notion of the reality, and reluctantly Dante confesses his inability to praise her further in song.

La bellezza ch'io vidi si trasmoda  
Non pur di là da noi, ma certo io credo  
Che solo il suo fattor tutta la goda.—*Par.* xxx., 19-21.<sup>8</sup>

This divinization of Beatrice forces on our notice the double part she is designed to play. Not only is she Dante's first love who was severed from him in the flower of her youth, but she is a striking personification of the Science of Theology which could lead men so near to God. It is the divine science, *par excellence*, because its aim is to know God and through Him His creatures, rather than to know Him through His creatures.

In Christian art and poetry the favorite, doubtless because the least difficult and most effective, way of portraying the spiritual world has always been to represent its people under the guise of human forms. Dante's scholastic temperament seems to have recoiled from this unphilosophic handling of the subject. Not even the saints will he represent in the bodies which were once theirs and which they are to resume at the last day. Much less will he concede to angels a form, be it ever so etherialized. St. John, once piously believed to have been assumed into heaven soul and body, is Dante's authority that "with two robes (of body and spirit) in the blessed cloister are two lights alone (*i. e.*, Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary)." For the rest, the saints, even such as Piccarda, who are lowest in glory, are conceived to be the faintest outline of their former selves, just sufficient to enable the poet to identify them.

---

<sup>7</sup> And if or art or nature has made bait  
To catch the eyes and so possess the mind,  
In human flesh or in its portraiture,  
All joined together would appear as naught  
To the divine delight which shone upon me  
When to her smiling face I turned me round (L).

<sup>8</sup> Not only does the beauty I beheld  
Transcend ourselves, but truly I believe  
Its maker only may enjoy it all (L).



Small wonder that he falls into the opposite error to that which Narcissus made, mistaking a substance for a shadow. Beatrice has to correct and assure him they are "true substances" eager for converse. Even this semblance of corporeal existence is quickly discarded. Once the two lowest planets are left behind, there is no further allusion to the features of the Beatified. Henceforth their presence and movements are known only indirectly. Kindled in the light divine they are discernible one from the other by the effulgence which is measured out to each and corresponds to their height in glory. By the advent of these bright luminaries the pilgrim knows that a soul is nigh, though the veil be never drawn aside. It is left for Charles Martel to explain the strange phenomenon :

La mia letizia mi ti tien celato  
Che mi raggia dintorno, e mi nasconde  
Quasi animal di sua seta fasciato.—*Par.* viii., 52-54<sup>9</sup>

Some signify pleasure at Dante's answers by their increased radiance; others, like Cunizza, indicate their wish to speak with him "by brightening outwardly." So brilliant was the glory of St. John that the apparition dazzled the eyes much as the beams of a tropical sun. While St. Peter is denouncing the usurpers who occupy his vacant throne on earth, the rays proceeding from him and the company of spirits suddenly change from white to red in token of displeasure. Not only is the happiness and glory of each saint commensurate with the brightness of its rays, it is also proportionate to the speed with which each light is seen to revolve. Accordingly, greater speed of gyration is at one time the gauge of individual joy, at another of preëminence among compeers. Similarly in the *Primum Mobile*, the abode of the angels, brightness and swiftness are sure signs of excellence. This accounts for the seeming paradox that the flame nearest the Divinity, and the innermost of the nine circling choirs, corresponds contrariwise to the outermost moving heaven. In material substances "extension," in immaterial "intension" connotes perfection. From the moment these angels were confirmed in grace they have never ceased circling round their Maker in such fashion as Dante now witnesses—"each differing in effulgence and in kind." It is one of St. Thomas' peculiar theories that they, unlike the saints, constitute each a distinct species, and thus every one is endowed with not merely an individual but also specific insight and resultant love.

It will not be out of place to consider why the poet so frequently employs Light as the symbol of eternal life. Later on we shall see that his sole expressions for the Divine Essence, visible in ecstasy, are *lume*, *luce eterna*. Dean Church has justly remarked the fidelity,

---

<sup>9</sup>My gladness keepeth me concealed from thee,  
Which rageth round about me, and doth hide me  
Like as a creature swathed in its own silk (L).



born of a loving study of nature, with which he describes every effect of light and shade, every color and hue. This is indisputable, but its employment in the *Paradiso* has, if we mistake not, a distinctly theological significance. Dante could not but be mindful of the traditional analogy between incorporeal existence and the phenomenon of light—an analogy, moreover, which had the sanction of Holy Scripture. God Himself dwelt “in light inaccessible.” Of the same nature is the Son, and therefore St. Paul does not hesitate to apply to Him the words of the Book of Wisdom and call Him “the brightness of everlasting light.” Nay, more, Christ had declared He was “the Light of the world”—the *lumen de lumine* of the Nicene Creed. In the *de Divinis Nominibus*, Dionysius diligently explains why God should so be called—“because He fills every mind with the light of knowledge; ignorance and error He dispels from the souls in which He dwells, and to them all dispenses His holy light . . . ‘intellectual light’ is that Good called which is above every light . . . flooding the celestial mind and out of Its fulness illumining the earthly, and all their powers of intelligence renewing.”<sup>10</sup> By a natural accommodation of meaning, the blessed, who partake of the divine wisdom, were also conceived to be founts of spiritual light and knowledge. The fact that light was believed to be truly incorporeal was an additional reason why Dante should consider the metaphor as particularly apt. A philosophy, which guarded him against the danger of anthropomorphic notions of the invisible world, recommended the use of an illustration at once forcible and least misleading. Besides, he had St. Thomas’ warrant for it—“Since all intellectual knowledge comes to us through the senses, we transfer even the terminology of ‘sensible cognition’ to that of the intellect, and especially those names which pertain to ‘vision,’ which is the most noble and most spiritual of the senses, and on that account more akin to the intellect; hence it is that ‘intellectual cognition’ itself is termed ‘vision.’”<sup>11</sup>

“My instruction found entrance through the hearing and the sight.” While the pilgrim’s eyes are delighted by ever-changing scenes, his ears are charmed with the music that ever and anon issues from the rays of light. Now strains of some ravishing hymn, audible from afar, float nearer as a happy band approaches, and now with one accord all is hushed to listen to a client’s prayer; now again, his wish gratified, they return whence they came, taking up the while their former melody. Osannas and Glorias to the Blessed Trinity, intermingled with Aves in honor of the Queen-Mother, fill the heavens, and the happy listener surrenders himself to the intoxica-

<sup>10</sup> C. 4, sec. 5.

<sup>11</sup> C. Gent., Bk. 3, c. 53.



tion. Many of the lights he declares to be "more sweet in voice than luminous in aspect." So exquisite was the harmony of the two garlands of saints in the sun, that there only where joy is eternal can it be appreciated—earthly music is not its faintest echo.

So full to overflowing seems their cup of gladness that it would appear impossible for them to receive any additional pleasure. And yet, on Beatrice's approach, the spirits of Mercury are heard to exult, "Lo! this is she who shall increase our love." Still more surprising is it, at first sight, that Dante's speech should add new joy to their lives. By unmistakable signs, however, they show that the gain is mutual and that they are "happier made at each new ministering." The underlying truth is perfectly intelligible in the light of certain scholastic distinctions which are here insinuated. The happiness of angel and saint with regard to its Last End—the Beatific Vision—can suffer no change or diminution. That will never be more or less than was once meted out according to individual deserts. But what is called their "accidental glory" is always capable of increase. Discussing the question as to whether angels can instruct one another, St. Thomas comes to the conclusion that since more truths are seen in God according to the perfection of one's powers, the higher orders can illumine the lower by discovering to them truths of which they were hitherto ignorant.<sup>12</sup> Dante follows in the footsteps of his Master and describes with marvellous exactness the relations of the saints to each other, and to their friends on earth. Their mutual charity, their evident desire to give of their store of knowledge and to obtain blessings for others are amongst the most effective touches in the book. In the restricted sense just referred to must be interpreted all similar passages, where, for instance, angels are likened to a swarm of bees flitting to and fro between the Blessed Trinity and the Saints of the Mystic Rose, carrying to each leaf and flower an increase of ardor and peace.

Even should exception be taken to these modes of expression, on the score of exaggeration, it could never be objected that we are left for a moment in doubt as to what constitutes the "essential happiness" of the blessed host. Many times and in many ways Dante is assured that the souls now before him are actually bathed in the light divine. High and low are gazing uninterruptedly in the mirror where all creation is visible. Therein they have seen Dante's question long before his lips have moved to utterance.

Queste sustanzie, poichè fur gioconde  
Della faccia di Dio, non volser viso  
Da essa, da cui nulla si nasconde.—*Par.* xxix., 76-78.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *Summa*, 1a p., qu. 106, a. 1.

<sup>13</sup> . . . . From the first, these substances  
Rejoicing in the countenance of God  
<sup>13</sup> Rejoicing in the countenance of God  
Have held unceasingly their view, intent  
Upon the glorious vision, from the which

The whole realm "secure and full of gladness, thronged with ancient folk and new, had look and love turned to one mark from which dependent is the heaven and nature all!" Saint and angel are absorbed in contemplation. It must be evident to a superficial reader that the temper of Dante's age was very different from the present. The pages of the *Divina Commedia* bear the impress of its psychological climate to a marked degree. Written in the golden days of Monasticism, when the great mendicant orders were flooding Europe with new spiritual life and vigor, when the example of Sts. Francis and Dominic was still fresh in the memory of men, when every Italian family sent its quota to swell the ranks of clergy or religious, it was natural that Dante should assume as axiomatic that the contemplative life was to be preferred to the life of action. We shall search the *Paradiso* in vain for any argument or demonstration to that effect. They were superfluous until the principle was called in question. For the presuppositions with which a layman started out, we must consult the tomes of those whose professed object it was to provide a sound basis for the Faith of the people. And what do we find? That they anticipated the objections of a Utilitarian generation which is ever asking, "Of what use are contemplative orders?" These doctors clearly show that of the two endowments of man, sufficiently generalized under the terms of knowledge and action, the former bespeaks our affinity to the angelic nature, the latter to the brute beast. "The highest achievement of man is that which is wrought by his highest power on the most worthy object: the intellect is his highest power and its most worthy object is the divine Good, which again is not the object of the practical judgment but of the speculative; hence his greatest happiness consists in the contemplation of divine things."<sup>14</sup> In another book, St. Thomas subjoins seven additional reasons from Aristotle to convince skeptics that it was really "the better part" which Mary chose.<sup>15</sup> True, this side the grave, contemplative life will always remain inchoative, but since it contains the germ of future bliss it excels and should not be stunted by bodily accomplishments. Imagination may play us false and incline us to irreverently wonder how we can possibly spend an eternity in contemplation without a sense of weariness, but reason, apart from Faith, tells us that the joy of heaven is founded in unceasing meditation and acts of love. To Dante our modern difficulty did not present itself, so that unless we admit his assumption we shall miss the point of many illustrations.

The saints are unanimous in confirming the Catholic teaching that the intensity of their vision is directly proportionate to the merits and gold of good works accumulated below.

<sup>14</sup> *Summa*, 1a, 2æ, qu. 3, a. 5.

<sup>15</sup> *Summa*, 1a, 2æ, qu. 182, a. 1.



E dei saper che tutti hanno diletto,  
 Quanto la sua veduta si profonda  
 Nel vero, in che si queta ogn' intelletto  
 Quinci si può veder come si fonda  
 L'esser beato nell' atto che vede,  
 Non in quel ch' ama, che poscia seconda;  
 E del vedere è misura mercede.—*Par.* xxviii., 106-112.<sup>16</sup>

Beatrice's words sound like a subdued echo of Tertullian's vehement rhetoric: "How are there many mansions in the Father's home, except through diversity of merits? And how can star differ from star except through diversity of rays?" (*Adv. Gnost. Scorp.* c. 6.) Dante found it to be the rule alike in the angelic choirs of the Primum Mobile as in the Heaven of the Fixed Stars, where St. Peter stood forth preëminent among the saintly host.

A further truth conveyed in Beatrice's last utterance is repeated shortly afterwards in this wise:

Però che all' atto che concepe  
 Segue l'affetto, d'amor la dolcezza  
 Diversamente in essa ferve e tepe.—*Par.* xxix., 139-141.<sup>17</sup>

The vision of the Good, the True, the Beautiful must move the beholder to corresponding delight and enkindle his desire to possess it. On this point the poet lays some stress. It is the capacity of the intellect, the power of penetrating the Infinite abyss that sets the limit to the creature's love, for as St. Augustine says, "No one can love what is unknown." The contrary opinion, that vision will be measured by the ardor of affection with which each spirit approaches the Eternal Banquet, he by implication rejects. "It is obviously false that the will is superior to the intellect as a motive power; for, primarily, the intellect moves the will . . . the intellect by its act understands, and in so doing anticipates the will; never would the will desire knowledge unless the intellect had first decided that knowledge was beneficial."<sup>18</sup> This characteristic touch of the Angelic Doctor pervades the whole poem and gives us a clue to otherwise meaningless passages. The seraphim is the circle revolving nearest to God Himself precisely because profounder knowledge impels them, more rapidly than others, to union with the divinity. Thus is generated in them a love far surpassing that of the lower choirs.

Consistently with this pious imagery, the Blessed Virgin, who

<sup>16</sup> And thou shouldst know that they all have delight  
 As much as their own vision penetrates  
 The Truth, in which all intellect finds rest.  
 From this it may be seen how blessedness  
 Is founded on the faculty which sees,  
 And not in that which loves, and follows next;  
 And of this seeing merit is the measure (L).

<sup>17</sup> . . . . Inasmuch as on the act conceptive  
 The affection followeth, of love the sweetness  
 Therein diversely fervid is or tepid (L).

<sup>18</sup> C. Gent., Bk. 3, c. 26.

eclipses angels and saints by the intensity of vision and love of God, shines upon Dante—not in the lower heavens, not even in the Primum Mobile, but above and beyond in the Empyrean itself. In the Heaven of the Fixed Stars she had indeed deigned to appear as the Regina Sanctorum Omnium, in the fair garden of the Apostles of which she was the Rose and they the Lilies. A momentary apparition was this and shown in the sequel to be an unusual condescension. Even while Dante gazed entranced on those flowers of Christ's Redemption, the central and largest, "which there excelled as on earth it excelled," was crowned by the Angel Gabriel, who had descended from the upper heaven to attend Her. Straightway she ascended from their midst, her praises chanted on all sides, swiftly through the angels' home to Her Son's side, "making diviner the sphere supreme." A glimpse was all that was vouchsafed to Dante of this ravishing scene, illustrative no doubt of her actual assumption and moral superiority over other creatures. Not until his sight had been inured to more brilliant objects and had been purified in the River of Life is her full glory unveiled to him. By that time, Beatrice had already bidden him adieu and entrusted to St. Bernard her lover's guidance through higher wonders, as if Theology were unequal to the task. As is fitting, the faithful Bernard first presents his charge to the enthroned Queen "to whom this realm (*i. e.*, the Empyrean) is subject and devoted"—his loving Mother Mary. It was insufficient, though necessary, that the pilgrim's eyes had grown accustomed to the pageantry of the lower heavens with their ranks of happy men and women, saints and angels, all raying out the light divine; it was insufficient that the beauty of his beloved had provided an ever growing foretaste of God; his final preparation can be no other than the contemplation of the least feeble reflection of the divine attributes. Seated in the midst of her jubilant court, she outshines them all as does the east the west on a summer morn.

Riguarda omai nella faccia ch' a Christo  
 Più si somiglia, ch'è la sua chiarezza  
 Sola ti può disporre a veder Christo.

. . . . . Quantunque io avea visto davante,  
 Di tanta ammirazion non mi sospese,  
 Nè mi nostrò di Dio tanto sembante.—*Par.* xxxii., 85-93.<sup>19</sup>

There is another and more potent reason for turning to Mary on the very threshold of the Infinite. Most like to God and most loved of Him, she can obtain for her clients favors otherwise impossible.

---

<sup>19</sup> Look now into the face that unto Christ  
 Hath most resemblance; for its brightness only  
 Is able to prepare thee to see Christ.

. . . . . Whatsoever I had seen before  
 Did not suspend me in such admiration,  
 Nor show me such similitude of God (L).



The crowning grace of gazing for one short moment on God must be sought at her hands alone. St. Bernard, in that beautiful prayer which has rendered the closing canto famous, begs the Virgin Mother to grant Dante his heart's desire.

Ed io, che mai per mio veder non arsi  
Piu ch' io fo per lo suo, tutti i miei preghi  
Ti porgo, e prego che non sieno scarsi,  
Perchè tu ogni nube gli dislegghi  
Di sua mortalità coi preghi tuoi,  
Sì che il sommo piacer gli si dispieghi.—*Par.* xxxiii., 23-33.<sup>20</sup>

Once she has signified her gracious acquiescence, the issue does not long remain doubtful. Instantly Dante felt the stilling of desire within his breast, a sure sign of his near approach to "the end of all desires." The whole journey had been a severe yet invigorating discipline for this long-wished-for moment. By slow degrees he had learnt what the Beatific Vision is in its effect and had thus been enabled to form some faint concept of its magnificence. Hitherto he had been taught how wonderful is God in His saints, and how supremely happy are the myriads who possess the pearl of great price—but the source remained hid from view. Already he had been dowered with that supernatural strength without which no creature can hope to see God face to face, to wit, the Light of Glory:

La cui virtù, col mio veder congiunta,  
Mi leva sopra me tanto, ch' io veggio  
La somma essenza della quale è munta.—*Par.* xxi., 85-88.<sup>21</sup>

This was St. Peter Damien's description down in the Heaven of Saturn, since verified in the poet's own person on entering the Empyrean. St. Thomas gives us the reason of our necessity—"No created intellect can see the Divine Essence except in so far as God by His grace discovers Himself to the intelligence. . . . Yet intelligence, whether angelic or human, rises superior to the material world, and *can* therefore be raised beyond its natural powers to something higher."<sup>22</sup> Commentators are not agreed as to the precise moment Dante would have us believe this sublime power was bestowed on him. The whole passage (*Canto xxx., l. 50 ad fin.*) certainly describes the uplifting of a blessed soul from the darkness of the outer world into the full light of glory. Perhaps we may go further and say that the poet has portrayed two phases of the one

<sup>20</sup> I who never burned for my own seeing  
More than I do for his, all of my prayers  
Proffer to thee, and pray they come not short,  
That thou wouldst scatter from him every cloud  
Of his mortality so with thy prayers,  
That the chief Pleasure be to him displayed (L).

<sup>21</sup> Of which the virtue with my sight conjoined  
Lifts me above myself so far, I see  
The supreme essence from which this is drawn (L).

<sup>22</sup> *Summa* 1a, qu. 12, a. 4.

grace—first, the etherializing of the hidden powers of intellectual vision to a degree hitherto unsuspected, and secondly, the panorama of inconceivable delights that flashes into view of the new-born spirit. His eyes were opened to see the River of Life out of which angels are continually issuing to sink into the flowers (*i. e.*, the saints) that bedeck either bank. One mask remained to be torn away. Dante was commanded to slake the thirst of his eyes in those miraculous waters if he would see symbols transformed into realities. The whole army of the Church Triumphant broke in upon his sight in fashion of the sempiternal Rose, to whose every petal and leaf angelic bands were ministering. The *Lumen Gloriæ* floods his soul. This time he is in nowise confounded by new wonders—"My vision lost itself not in the vastness and height but the extent and nature of that bliss it all embraced." At last this newly acquired virtue is to be tested to its utmost, though it is clearly understood beforehand that it will fall infinitely short of its mark. Dante is well aware that no mortal eye can exhaust the mystery, any more than one can hope to fathom the ocean's depth. On this point he is as pronounced an agnostic as his master, who had laid it down that "only in so far does the creature penetrate the Divine Essence as he is suffused with a greater or lesser share of the Light of Glory. But since no creature can receive an infinite share, it is not possible for any one to know God perfectly."<sup>23</sup> In another pregnant passage Aquinas replies to a possible objection—that the blessed see everything in God—with this significant distinction: "If by 'everything' be understood whatever pertains to the perfection of the universe, manifestly *they can* who see the Divine substance. . . . If, however, whatever God sees in His own Essence be implied, then no creature can see 'everything.'"<sup>24</sup> The mysteries of Grace and Predestination, the secrets of hearts are hidden from the blessed, because they depend on the free will either of God or of man. There is no real discrepancy between this doctrine and the express declarations of Dante's interlocutors that they read his every question and wish where "ere thou thinkest, thy thought is revealed." Theologians agree that God satisfies every just and legitimate desire of the saints, and therefore reveals of His secrets whichever is of especial interest to them.

The ineffable vision has been vouchsafed to Dante himself, and together with the whole court of heaven he, too, is beholding the perfect mirror "where depicted everything is seen." The goal of his toilsome journey is reached! He stands face to face with his Maker and looks into the ocean of Light, whence flow the rivulets that till then have sated him. Words fail him, not as they had failed

<sup>23</sup> *Summa* 1a, qu. 12, a. 7.

<sup>24</sup> C. Gent., Bk. 3, c. 59.



him before in the course of his narrative when he had only momentarily faltered, but because "our intellect, as it draws near to its desire, so far engulfs itself that memory cannot follow."

La mia vista, venendo sincera,  
E più e più entrava per lo raggio  
Dell' alta luce, che, da sè è vero  
Da quinci innanzi il mio veder fu maggio  
Che il parlar nostro ch' a tal vista cede,  
E cede la memoria a tanto oltraggio.—*Par.* xxxiii., 52-57.<sup>25</sup>

Deeper insight shows him how utterly misleading is human speech, cast in its iron moulds of time and space. He is seized with dismay at the hopelessness of any attempt to recall the stupendous scene.

O quanto è corto il dire, e come, fioco  
Al mio concetto! e questo, a quel ch' io vidi  
E tanto che non basta a dicer poco.—*Par.* xxxiii., 121-123.<sup>26</sup>

Nevertheless, for the sake of posterity, he essays the task, protesting its impossibility the while. There in the First Truth at once become self-evident all that mortals hold by Faith or feebly demonstrate. Contingency and contingent beings in their changing aspects stand revealed in the one supreme Necessity. In that Eternity outside time—outside all other limits—the past and future are wonderfully present. Every "when" and every "where" are focussed thereto, for is it not the centre and prime mover of the world—the alpha and omega of all.

Nel suo profondo vidi che s'interna,  
Legato con amore in un volume,  
Ciò che per l'universo si squaderna;  
Sustanzia ed accidenti, e lor costume,  
Quasi conflati insieme per tal modo,  
Che ciò ch' io dico è un semplice lume.—*Par.* xxxiii., 85-90.<sup>27</sup>

And yet in spite of these deep draughts of wisdom there remained ever an Infinite excess. Vision upon vision in the lower spheres had after all but ill prepared the pilgrim for the final one—and of necessity. "Broken lights" of the divine attributes, flashed from diverse points in the universe, wonderful on earth, in hell and in Purgatory, overpowering in heaven, are luminous indeed, yet

<sup>25</sup> . . . . . My sight becoming purified  
Was entering more and more into the ray  
Of the High Light which of itself is true.  
From that time forward what I saw was greater  
Than our discourse, that to such vision yields,  
And yields the memory unto such excess (L).

<sup>26</sup> O how all speech is feeble and falls short  
Of my conceit, and this to what I saw  
Is such, 'tis not enough to call it little! (L)

<sup>27</sup> I saw that in its depth far down is lying  
Bound up with love together in one volume,  
What through the universe in leaves is scattered;  
Substance, and accident, and their operations,  
All interfused together in such wise  
That what I speak of is one simple light. (L)

compared with their source are as the twilight. Still they *are* something, and the more valuable to mortal man as they are better suited to his capacity. Infinite Justice, Infinite Knowledge and Infinite Mercy are easiest to describe in finite terms—in the personifications of Justinian, of Beatrice, of Our Lady. So, too, the sublime truths of the Blessed Trinity and the Hypostatic Union had been ever present to Dante on his upward way, foreshadowed by many a simple device. The hymns and movements of the saints, for instance, had been specially reminiscent of the Three in One. Again he finds by experience that the reality surpasses all conception. For an instant he is permitted to contemplate, in mute adoration, the most inscrutable of all mysteries:

Nella profonda e chiara sussistenza  
Dell' alto lume parosmi tre giri  
Di tre colori e d'una continenza;  
E d'un dall' altro, come Iri da Iri,  
Parea riflesso, e il terzo parea foco  
Che quinci e quin di equalmente si spiri

Quella circolazion, che sì concetta  
Pareva in te come lume riflesso,  
Dagli da sè del suo colore stesso  
Dentra da sè del suo colore stesso  
Mi parve pinta della nostra effige.—*Par.* xxxiii., 115-120; 127-31<sup>28</sup>

Observe, there is no question in Dante's mind as to the absolute simplicity and immutability of the Godhead. He is most careful to warn his readers that there only appeared to be circles, etc.—*parvemi, parea*. Omnipotence remaining one and undivided seems to the onlooker to be full of never-ending changes. The Beatific Vision is a mass of apparent contradictions, until a final illumination reconciles the mystery of the Blessed Trinity and the Incarnation, when of a sudden the rapture ends.

It is not the least hopeful sign of the times that the burden of the *Paradiso* is daily becoming better known and loved. In some cases the interest may indeed be purely æsthetic, but in others it is a stepping-stone to unknown lands. Enamored of Dante's exalted Idealism, many to whom Scholasticism was a byword and a reproach are led to regard with less disdain the intellectual giants of the Dark Ages. Closer acquaintance may discover to them what a priceless treasure bigotry has thrown away. The gain to the Catholic Church

---

<sup>28</sup> In the profound and bright fused elements  
Of the high light, three circles on me beamed,  
Triple in hues, and single in contents;  
And one reflected by another seemed,  
As rainbow is by rainbow, and the third  
Seemed fire which equally from either streamed.

That circle which seemed so conceived to be  
Within Thee, as to be a light reflected,  
Of its own very hue appeared to me  
Within, when somewhat by my eyes inspected,  
To have our image painted thereupon. (H)



is obvious. Random criticism of her methods and aims must be gradually disarmed. Her doctrines, as set forth by her saintly sons, will have renewed power to compel the submission of the thoughtful. Surely this is an issue to be prayed for, to-day, when dogma is fast fading from men's minds, and when, as a recent writer has told us, "the art and mystery of religion, whether as a profession or a creed, have come into such peril as never perhaps was since Europe accepted the Christian teaching."<sup>29</sup>

FRANCIS DE CAPITAIN.

Oscott College, Birmingham, England.

---

### THE BEGINNINGS OF CHRISTIANITY.

THERE are not wanting reasons of a modern and immediate nature which make it henceforth useful and consoling to reflect on the earliest history of the Church, and in a special manner on the period of her foundation by the Apostles and their successors. The nineteenth century saw the almost complete loss of every external advantage that Catholicism had acquired through popular affection and public policy since the days of Constantine. The French Revolution was like a hurricane, after which only the hulk of the "Navicella" floated on the troubled waters of human life. Within one generation the mysteries of several ancient Oriental civilizations have been unveiled with a detail and an accuracy almost beyond belief. Egypt, Babylon, Assyria and remote India have yielded up with their languages an extensive knowledge of their history and their institutions. The remotest pre-history of the people of Europe has been laid bare, and in the process have arisen noble sciences like philology, anthropology and ethnology. Scholarly travel has chosen for its special object the rudest embryonic beginnings of human culture in every zone and clime. Thus we find ourselves in presence of an historical temper of mind that is very general, and whose first query is the natural and salutary one concerning the origin of things. Epochs of humanity, like the stages of the earth's growth, have each their own "cachet." In a critical and creative age, with so little left of the simple unquestioning habit of faith, it was impossible that the origin of so vast an institution as Christianity should not engage the attention of a multitude of students. It was impossible, too, that there should not follow a great diversity of views and opinions according as bias, heredity,

---

<sup>29</sup> q. v. Dr. Barry's article on *The Prospects of Catholicism* in the *National Review* for October, 1901.

prejudice, human weakness or insufficient knowledge affected the mind of the historical critic.

The soil of Rome, long neglected, has given up a multitude of monuments of a primitive Christian society that goes back without question to the years that immediately followed Christ's death. And the interpretation of these wonderful remnants of an early Christian community has again called the attention of scholars and travelers to the first days of that same society when it was spreading, silently but rapidly, through every ward of the Mediterranean Cosmopolis, and even beyond, into lands where the speech and the writ of Rome did not run.

Then, too, the steady consistent disintegration of the original bases of Protestantism, and the infinite discussion which that process has called up regarding the books of the New Testament and the primitive elements of Christian faith, have not failed to bring into evidence the teachings, the works and the writings of many apostolic men, and to place before the eye of the imagination the fields in which they labored. No doubt, the application to the science of history of the methods of the study of the natural sciences has largely furthered this remarkable movement. But many will believe that the incredible resurrection of the Catholic Church within this century, and especially her growth in North America, are to be counted appreciable motives in the awakening of curiosity as to the first establishment of Christianity in the Old World. Nor must we omit the far-reaching influence of certain sociological teachings that contravene Christianity, plainly deny or eliminate its essential principles, criticize its economico-social history, and thereby lay the axe at the root of our modern society, which still presupposes as basic and organic no few Christian principles, beliefs, institutions and habits of thought.

Neither the sixteenth nor the eighteenth century fulfilled the brilliant academic promises of "felicitas" that each made to mankind. What they offered as final theology and final philosophy has fallen into the same moral bankruptcy that Mr. Mallock and M. Brunetière are now predicating of dogmatic Protestantism and the self-sufficiency of the natural sciences. The result is a certain not unnatural reaction in favor of that aged and universal institution which has been the mother and the nurse of all modern societies, and which still goes on its beneficent way, with the same sure power, the same generous bestowal of peace and joy, of rest and consolation, of private and public weal, in every society where it is left free to display its mandate as the representative of Jesus Christ. Hence the cries of disappointment which so multiply on all sides, disappointment with the preposterous claims of mere knowledge as the power of salvation, with the transient victories of false and misleading philoso-



phies, with the earth as a sufficient abiding place for man. The very absolutism and arrogance of such contentions have led to the quick demonstration of their emptiness or insufficiency—they were like leaky cisterns or broken reeds, useless in the hour of need, or like those desert apparitions that promise water and shade and cool breezes, but in reality offer to the parched traveler only the same flaming horizon, the same dreary waste of sand as before. And in proportion as this temper of disappointment spreads and finds expression, so must increase respect and admiration for the Catholic Church, which, alone of human institutions, has never been blown about by every gust of doctrine, since she possesses in herself the needed ballast of conviction, a sure criterion of what is true, useful, permanent, adaptable and assimilable in the general experience of mankind.

For such and similar reasons the story of her foundation and first growth will always have a profound human interest and value. There can be nothing more worthy of attention than the little band of Apostles as they confront the *orbis terrarum*—the Greco-Roman world. Nor can there be anything more instructive and consoling than to learn by what means and against what odds their immediate successors planted the Christian society in every corner of that ancient world; by what a combination of public and private force this purely spiritual society was opposed; how it flourished in itself and developed organically its constitution, despite all obstacles from within and without; finally, how it shattered or survived every opposition, sat co-equal upon the throne of the Cæsars and divided with them the allegiance of mankind.

## I.

When the Apostles went forth to teach all nations the doctrine of the Crucified Jesus, nearly all earthly power was possessed by the City of Rome. In the course of eight hundred years she had grown from a little stone fort on the Palatine to the most powerful and perfect state the world has yet seen. From the Atlantic to the Euphrates, from the Rhine and the Danube to the Cataracts of the Nile, her will was supreme; and if she recognized these limits, it was because beyond them there was little worth fighting for. Step by step, piecemeal, she had put together this “*massa imperii*,” subduing first the little towns in the surrounding plains and hills, and then breaking in turn the power of Macedonia and Carthage, of Mediterranean Asia and Parthia, of Northern Africa and Egypt, until there remained but one symbol of universal dominion—the Eagles of Rome, one supreme owner of the habitable earth and arbiter of

civilized mankind—the Roman People. By centuries of self-sacrifice and endurance, by prodigies of patience and wisdom, by a rock-like confidence in their City, by a kind of kenosis of self in favor of the common weal, by frugality and foresight, these shepherds, herders, vintners and kitchen-gardeners made themselves heirs of the vast immemorial Oriental despotisms of Egypt, Assyria and Parthia, with a hundred minor kingdoms. The same virtues made them the masters of Gaul, Spain and Britain, *i. e.*, of the most fertile soil of Europe and of the two great rivers that almost bind the Black Sea to the Atlantic, the Rhine and the Danube. All the golden streams of the world's commerce flowed now to one political centre, bearing Romeward with equal thoroughness all the confluent of art, literature and luxury. The glorious dreams of Alexander the Great were translated into realities when Roman "Conquistadori" sat at Antioch, Alexandria, Carthage, Saragossa, Lyons and York. In the eventful struggle for the Mediterranean that began with the "Great Persian War" the first epoch was fittingly closed by the defeat of the Orient and the creation of a self-conscious Occident. But scarcely had the City of Rome enslaved the universal earth when the chains of her own slavery were forged at her own hearth. The noise of falling kingdoms alternates with the uproar of civil discord during the century that precedes the birth of Christ, and when these ever memorable conflicts are over, the power of Cæsar is securely anchored. All the reins of empire are in the hands of the young Octavius. For a while Cæsar will call himself only *princeps*, the foremost citizen of the city; for a while the Senate holds a formal but unsubstantial equality. All the great magistracies of the City are centred now in Cæsar and his heirs. The scarred legions of a hundred battle-fields are his; his the richest provinces, uncontrolled revenues and fleets; his, too, the legislative power, since the servile Senate no longer dares to refuse registration of every desire or suggestion of Cæsar. Wearied of self-government, with every enemy prostrate, at the acme of her glory and power, Rome abandoned all to the hands of one man, made perpetual and irrevocable that dictatorship to which in the past she had occasionally, but only occasionally, entrusted her supreme interests. The world, governed directly and immediately by Rome, reacted in turn upon the proud City, and where once a race of sturdy Italian freemen administered an humble commonwealth upon ancestral soil, there arose a new cosmopolitan government in which all the passions, vices and interests of the captive world had a growing share.

"Graecia capta ferum victorem coepit."

Flattery and corruption, ambition and hatred and envy, stood guard around the imperial throne. The polished and conscienceless



Greek, the frivolous and boastful Gaul, the debauched Syrian, an almost nameless body of ex-slaves, were the true rulers of the world. The original Roman people had in great part made way for them, being cut off in long foreign wars, greatly decimated in the civil struggles that brought about the fall of the Republic, or hopelessly confounded with the descendants of those captives and foreigners that Rome had been absorbing during more than a century of universal conquest.

But the City in turn fascinated all who came in contact with her. She lifted men to her own high level. Those born to hate her became her humble slaves, ready to die for one whom the world now called the Golden City, the City Eternal, the Royal Queen, to whose "Genius" all the deities of all the races had done homage, and whose astounding "Fortune" dominated the imagination of all. Indeed, well might they call her the Golden City, the City Eternal! The stranger who entered her gates walked entranced through long rows of marble palaces, the happy homes of victorious generals, powerful lawyers, merchant-princes, when they were not hired out to a mob of Oriental kings and potentates. Splendid porticos, temples and baths dotted the city, and her public squares or "fora" were filled with forests of statues. Masterpieces of art and the curios of all past or conquered civilizations were to be seen at every turn—the fruits of foreign skill or rather of a long robbery of the world carried on with iron persistency for centuries. If this Rome was the abode of an army of spies and informers, she was also the home of literature and art and general human culture, such an abode as no city has ever been; for the relations of London to England, or Paris to France, express but feebly the intellectual supremacy of the City in the palmy days of her greatness. Within her walls she sheltered perhaps a million and a half of people, but her empire was over two thousand miles long and over three thousand miles broad, with a calculated population of one hundred to one hundred and twenty millions, and a subdued and docile territory in extent somewhat more than one-half that of the United States before 1870.

One may well wonder how this huge mass of empire, made up so late, by force, out of so much wreckage of nations, states and races, could be governed with success. Rome was not a victorious nation but a victorious City, and where she could she introduced her own municipal institutions, admirably fitted, as a rule, to the local circumstances of antique life. Then, she was no doctrinaire, and where the native fierceness or raw simplicity of the vanquished forbade her usual policy, she governed them in a way suited to their temper and her real power. Her provinces were usually complexus of cities, each responsible for its own "suburbium," and in each province the

chief Roman magistrate, whatever his title, wielded the entire power of Rome, civil and military. He governed immediately and directly in the interests of the City, which looked on the whole world as the "farm of the Roman people," precisely as any subject city of hers looked on its suburban territory. These interests demanded peace and prudent administration of the sources of revenue—hence the increase of population and of the general welfare of the great provinces in the century or two that followed the birth of Christ. From the "Golden Milestone" in the very heart of Rome there branched out to the ends of her empire a huge network of communication, great roads paved with basaltic or lava blocks, some remnants of which yet remain and show the deep ruts of the chariot wheels or the heavy trucks that for centuries rattled over them, bearing countless thousands on purposes of state or commerce or curiosity, or transferring war material and the rare products of the far Orient. The government post and a system of inns completed the means of transit, which was so perfect that only in our own day has it been surpassed by the discovery of the uses of steam. All this, however, was subservient to one paramount influence for unity—the Greek tongue. While the Roman kept the Latin for the use of camp and law, of administration and commerce, he adopted the Greek as the vehicle of polite intercourse. For three or four centuries it had been the language of authority in the Orient and of refinement everywhere. Even the Jews had submitted to its charm, and outside of Judaea, in Greek lands at least, preached the Law of Moses in the accents of Homer.

The final result of such conditions could only be the gradual extinction of all national peculiarities—the chief object of Rome or rather of the Cæsars—who aimed henceforth at a general world-citizenship, an organization of humanity under the benign direction of that City, which the gods, or fate, or her own fortune and power, had made supremely responsible for the welfare of men. Velleities of national independence were crushed out, as at Jerusalem, and anomalies of national religions, like the Druids, were sternly and thoroughly suppressed. The worship of the imperial "Genius" and the general acceptance of the Roman jurisprudence, with its uniform and almost mathematical equity, helped on this process of assimilation. And when we remember the colonization en masse of abandoned or ruined cities, the generous extension of the Roman citizenship, the cementing action of commerce, and the leveling influence of the legions, we cease to wonder that before Jesus Christ was born politically the low places were filled up, the high mountains laid low, and the social ground made ready for a new City—the City of Man or the City of God, that was the problem of the future. The



Peloponnesian War had wiped out all difference between Dorian and Ionian. The campaigns of Alexander had opened the Orient to Greek culture, and hellenized the enormous basin of the Mediterranean as well as the great pathways to the Orient. The last act in the preparation of that political unity which facilitated the success of the gospel was the one that placed all earthly power in the hands of Rome. It was the end and acme of state-building in antiquity and furnished the needed basis for the sublime social and religious revolution then at hand.

How slow and uncertain might have been the spread of the Christian religion if its apostles had been obliged at every step to deal with new governments, new prejudices, new languages! Hence the Christian Fathers saw in the splendid unity of the empire something providential and divine. The Elder Pliny might imagine that this unity was the work of the gods bestowing polite intercourse and civilization on all mankind, but Christian writers like Origen (*contra Celsum* II., 30) and Prudentius (*contra Symmachum* II., 609) saw in it the removal of the most difficult obstacles to the propagation of Christianity, viz., the diversity of language and the destruction of national barriers. When St. Paul tells us (*Rom.* x., 18): "Verily their sound hath gone forth into all the earth and their words unto the ends of the whole world," he expresses a fact which the Christian society has always looked upon as an historical marvel, a *prima facie* evidence of the innate truth and charm of the apostolic preaching. In his apology against Celsus the erudite Origen appeals to the character of the apostles and to their circumstances as in itself a strong proof of the divine origin of Christianity.

A few poor fishermen, rustic and unlettered, go forth at the bidding of one of their countrymen to conquer for him, not the temporal authority, but, what is much more difficult, the spiritual mastery of this great Roman world! They are but a handful, and Jews at that, whom the masters of Roman literature delight in depicting as the most contemptible in the Roman State. They are of the lowest in a world where birth and wealth are everything, and they were born and bred in a remote and mountainous region, where those schemes of ambition that are easily nourished in great cities could scarcely suggest themselves to men. Their Master had died a felon's death, and they themselves had abandoned him in the supreme hour, having hoped to the last that he would revive a temporal kingdom of Israel.

Yet suddenly they are filled with a boundless enthusiasm. The apparitions of Jesus have transformed them from rude Galilean fishermen into eloquent apostles of a universal religion. The men who could not watch an hour with their divine Master, much less with-

stand the taunts of the angry mob, are now fearless before the supreme council of their own national priesthood and boldly proclaim the basic principle of the new dispensation: "It is better to obey God than men." Their discourse is strangely effective; hundreds and then thousands are carried away by it, and give up all to follow men whom but a brief while ago they passed without notice in the streets of Jerusalem. Severe persecution only strengthens them in their convictions, and before they are forced to flee the city, they have converted to the Society of Jesus Christ no insignificant number of the national clergy itself. Their speech and their counsel, when obliged to face great problems affecting immediately the future of this Society of Christ, are stamped with a rare wisdom. In the days of transition from the old to the new, while the synagogue, in the words of St. Augustine, was breathing its last, they behaved towards it with piety and with that rare precision of tact and good sense that usually mark men of experience and judgment. The Acts tell us but little of those few years in which the Apostles were founding the Church of Jerusalem, but what they reveal shows us men utterly different from the timid and doubting disciples whom Jesus led about in His lifetime, and whose rusticity and worldliness shine out so plainly in the gospels. But now they are men who have seen the risen Jesus in His glory, conversed with Him, been filled with His grace, and shared in the effusion of His Holy Spirit on the Day of Pentecost.

The hour comes when they must quit the Holy City and go out into a world they know not and which knows not them. Was it a light or indifferent thing for a Jew to abandon the Temple which held all that he reputed dear and sacred? The oracles of God were there and the pledges of His promises. There, too, were the solemn feasts of the only true religion upon earth ere the fulfillment of the prophecies. Thither came yearly from the ends of the world a multitude of Jews, to adore God after the consoling manner of their fathers. Its white walls and golden roofs shone afar from Moriah and gladdened the eyes of the weary pilgrim, when they did not shine before his imagination. So deep were the roots which this extraordinary edifice had cast in the hearts of the chosen people that since its destruction, in spite of their sad vicissitudes, they have never ceased to weep bitter tears on the Friday of every week over the few remaining stones of its once proud walls. But these men of Galilee, with never a spark of Gentile sympathies or Hellenism in their hearts, with no natural love for the cruel and oppressive eagles of Rome, go out forever from the one corner of earth that is dear to them, the sepulchres of their fathers, the homes of their families, the sites of the Resurrection and the Judgment, out into endless con-



flict and incalculable sufferings, out into a world of odious and repulsive idolatry. It was a sublime act of daring, and whoever reflects that neither before nor since has the like been seen, will not wonder that Christians have been prone from the beginning to surround this step with due veneration. Thereby the religion of Christ was carried beyond the boundaries of the Jewish state, and preached throughout the vast empire of Rome as the complement and perfection of Judaism, the alone-saving truth, the divine balm of doubt and spiritual unrest, and the saving ointment for a corrupting society. Soon wonderful missionaries are joined to the Apostles—Barnabas and John, Marcus the Evangelist and Philip; married couples, too, like Andronicus and Junias, Aquila and Prisca, and in an incredibly brief time the crucified and risen Jesus has been preached on the fertile plains between the Euphrates and the Tigris, throughout the valleys and the tablelands of Syria and Asia Minor. His doctrine is known in the Delta of the Nile and up the great river in Ethiopia, in the African oasis of Cyrene and in the island of Cyprus, in Spain and Gaul, and finally at Rome, where it was probably carried quicker than to any other site on earth. The bitterest enemy of the Christians, Saul, is converted by Jesus Himself, and made a vessel of election, thereby furnishing in one famous and superior person to the first feeble communities an irresistible evidence of the truth and the power of their faith. If not many great and noble according to the world belong to this doctrine that is gainsaid everywhere, still men and women from every class of society are represented—those of Cæsar's household, the proconsul of Cyprus, Sergius Paulus, the noble women of Beroea, the principal women of Thessalonica, Lydia the seller of purple in Thyatira, the physician Luke, the scholar Apollo, Dionysius, a judge of the Athenian Areopagus, as well as the nameless multitude who joined it in all the jewries that stretched from the Tigris to the Tagus.

It is in vain that misguided men question the authority of the Acts of the Apostles, whence we learn the first conquests of the gospel of Jesus Christ. From one extravagant opinion to another they have been obliged to recede until to-day what passes for enlightened criticism recognizes the general trustworthiness of this fascinating narrative. Its absolute reliability has never been doubted by a much greater authority, the Catholic Church, to which we owe the tradition of the text, and which is herself contemporaneous with the work. Even Renan, so ready to diminish or offset the analogies and the germs of the Church's constitution, cannot deny that the hand of St. Luke is visible in the book, that "its view of the yet brief history of the Christian society is that of the official historians of the Court of Rome." It was read in the infant churches, which were not

made up of inexperienced men of one race fixed to the soil, but were rather formed from a hundred nationalities, with a large proportion of Hellenistic Jews. These men were capable by their tongue, their origin, and their personal experience, of detecting any imposture foisted upon them if only by comparison with the numerous texts of this work circulated in the East and the West long before the end of the first century. St. John the Apostle was still alive, and to be consulted in Ephesus, or in any of the original sees of Asia Minor which he founded and nourished with special love.

It will not do to sneer at the Grecized Jews, at their archaic Macedonian dialect, or their uncouth pronunciation. Some remnants of inscriptions do not betray the culture of a numerous class, and long before the time of Christ there were Jews like the one whom Aristotle knew, Hellenes in all but blood. The Asmonaeon and Herodian families were often Greek at heart, and hundreds of such men were among the first disciples of the apostles. Could not the churches that produced St. Clement and the Areopagite, St. Ignatius of Antioch and St. Justin, recognize a literary fraud that must have been attempted on an enormous scale? Or was the age so devoid of criticism, to which we owe those perfect editions of the texts of Homer and Vergil, and so many other Greek and Latin classics, which modern scholarship aims at reproducing? Or were there wanting ripe scholars in the earliest Christian communities, men of standing and influence not unlike the Jew Philo, and that other Jew Josephus? Were not Apollo and Mark men of the rarest eloquence, the true propagandists, according to Renan? Could a confused and misleading story of the origin of the Church and their own share in it, have easily obtained absolute currency during their lifetime and in their own communities, and left behind no trace of the disturbances it necessarily created? Truly, the contradictions that follow the denial of the credibility of the Acts are so much greater than those supposed to arise from the ancient and universal belief, that we may safely wait until we are dispossessed by some arguments known to the law or the equity of unbiased literary criticism.

## II.

What could it be that so charged the hearts of the Apostle with unheard-of vigor and energy? What was the source of that calm, unchanging joy which shines from the pages of the genuine history and correspondence of the infant society? It was a colossal faith in the person of Jesus Christ and His works, His life, His doctrine and His promises—no mere admiration of His conduct, no vague undefined velleity of a remote imitation, no simple confidence in His power, sanctity and future coming. It was a *faith with an objective*



*content*, whose main elements and outlines are clearly set forth in the genuine writings of the Apostles, faith in their mission by Him whom they never tired of preaching, faith in the fidelity of His support and His ultimate victory, faith in the specific purpose of a society they were sent to "found and to establish" in the words of the most ancient Christian writers, *i. e.*, to organize as a self-propagating and self-preserving entity, in order to hand down to remotest times the history, doctrine and authority of Jesus Christ. The Apostles were no vapid dreamers but men of action—elevated and transfigured, indeed—but with clear and fixed purposes that culminated in the establishment of a universal religious association. Hence in the New Testament one sees them everywhere, traveling, preaching, organizing little knots and bands of believers—an activity so marked that their immediate disciple, Clement of Rome, recalls it as their chief occupation. This stupendous faith found expression in a *personal devotion to Jesus Christ* that ravished all souls and filled heart-weary multitudes with a presentiment of spiritual peace and refreshment to be had at the same source. The Temple of Janus was shut, indeed, but the external peace of Rome covered much mental commotion. "O Cæsar, in thy peace what things I suffer," cries Epictetus. The minor political arenas of the world were closed, that mankind might for once watch the splendid game of world-government as conducted on a suitable scale upon the few acres of marly soil that spread on either side of the Tiber. The gods of the nations were without prestige, for they had not been able to hold their own against the fortunes of Rome. The great philosophies offered consolation, as philosophy always does, but to a chosen few only, and in an insufficient way. The superb art of Greece had taken the road of exile. Henceforth it can only imitate—it will create no more. The sources of its inspiration are dried up; there is no longer in it any power of consecration. It is no longer a spiritual strength or a religious consolation, for the popular faith on which it stood has universally collapsed. The feeling of the powerful and opulent can be guessed from the bitter words of their chief writer, Tacitus, that man is the wretched toy of an insolent fate. The outlook of the statesman was so disheartening that Tiberius congratulated the Senate on the disruption of the Germanic Confederation of Maroboduus as an event of greater import than the Athenian defeat of Philip, or the Roman victories over Pyrrhus or Antiochus. On this sated and wearied world the preaching of the Apostles and their disciples made a vivid impression, with its assertion of a new kingdom and a new ruler in the yet unconquered province of the human heart. The eloquent universal praise and the steadfast adoration of this new personality, the great deeds done in

His name, the assertion of His eternal kingship, the adhesion in every city of miscellaneous multitudes, convinced new multitudes that the person of Jesus was divine and worthy of all the devotion bestowed upon it. It was the intensity and eloquence of this devotion in St. Paul that nearly persuaded King Agrippa to become a Christian. In many a later persecution it was the personal devotion of the martyrs to Jesus Christ that moved the on-looking pagans to consider what manner of person He might be for whom men so joyfully laid down their lives. Who can read the letters of St. Ignatius of Antioch, especially that to the Romans, without being moved by the fine exalted mysticism of his speech, without feeling that a new and irresistible passion, the *personal love of God for man and man for God*, has been introduced among men and that, like an atmosphere or a perfume, it must soon transform the hearts of all who admit it, and eventually renew from within every society where its believers multiply?

The *personal memories of Jesus* worked marvels in the hearts of the Apostles. To believe this we do not need to recall the old tradition that the cheeks of Peter were furrowed by the tears that he shed when he recalled that divinely sad glance of Jesus. We do not need to recollect that Christ vouchsafed a personal apparition to St. Paul, as though this grace were needed to make him an equal Apostle with the others. How could they ever forget the incomparable Master and Teacher with whom they had so long dwelt in sweet intimacy? They knew now that it was God Himself with whom they had crossed the hills of Galilee, who had walked with them through its valleys and its villages, who had sailed with poor fishing folk in their humble boats on Genesareth. With the compelling magic of affection they recalled surely His mien, His gestures, His gait, His sweet gravity, the liquid eyes, twin homes of love and sorrow, and that familiar speech that was wont to light in the heart of every listener a flame of faith and love. He went about doing good, He spoke as one having power, grace was about Him as an atmosphere—how could the Apostles fail to renew in those divinely efficient memories their hearts sore-tried in the multitudinous conflict that they were directing? What is like unto memory? It is like the sword that reaches the innermost divisions of the soul, and pierces us in the remotest of our spiritual fortresses. Or again it is like the wings of the morning on which we may fly from all that is little and vile and hemming, and rest in the bosom of God Himself. The true sphere of man is himself, not the world about him, and his true wealth or poverty is the memories of the past, with their sweetness or their horror. Jesus knew that the memory of Himself would be for all time the most potent confirmation of faith. So He established on



the last night of His earthly life a simple rite, a frugal meal or banquet, fixing Himself its essentials. This He left, not only to His Apostles, but especially to all those who in future ages would heed their call and join themselves to His Kingdom. Thus He focussed upon His person forever the attention of all mankind in that mystic moment when divine love emptied itself for love of man, and human hate outdid itself in the death of the God-man. We can see from the earliest documents of Christianity that this mystic banquet was the great driving heart of the society, its vivifying sun, the secret of its inexhaustible strength. The little house-churches of Jerusalem, the upper chambers where the brethren met to break bread, the descriptions of such banquets in St. Paul, the confession of the Christian deaconesses to the Younger Pliny, the pages of the earliest Christian writers, the numerous old frescoes of the Christian catacombs at Rome, and a long series of other indications, show that here was the chief source of the Apostolic energy, here Jesus dwelt forever among them. The momentary transfiguration on Thabor, seen by a few only, was now the daily joy of all, replete with infinite personal revelations, illuminations and suggestions, to them who had known Him in the flesh.

While the effusion of the Holy Spirit on Pentecost confirmed in an extraordinary degree the faith of the infant Church, it brought to the Apostles and disciples a number of *charismatic gifts*, special graces given to them as public teachers, for the more rapid attainment of a certain external growth, efficiency and organic consistency in the new religion. God withdrew before their discourse the barrier of differing tongues and idioms. They enjoy the gifts of prophecy and miracles, especially of healing and of exorcism of evil spirits, and in their exercise of these high gifts we see a prudence and a practical beneficence which resembles the conduct of Jesus.

Another element of the Apostolic success is their *incomparable enthusiasm*. There is a natural contagion in the mere expression of over-powering conviction, and the annals of eloquence teem with examples of multitudes, even nations, yielding obedience to the flaming words of some Demosthenes or Hortensius, some St. Bernard or Peter the Hermit. But the Apostolic enthusiasm was no mere trick of human eloquence, for they tell us themselves that they spoke not in the persuasive words of human speech. In an age of finical perfection of language their discourse was doubtless rude and unadorned. Their tongues betrayed their origin as Peter's did his, and their Jewish profiles would not tempt many to expect from them a philosophy of salvation. The enthusiasm of the Apostles was something different; it was the steady flame of pure faith and love running out in absolute uncalculating devotion. We all know the mental

habit of men who have devoted themselves to one purpose and who pursue it without ceasing or wavering. They may walk in the shadow forever, but an interior light illumines their souls and transfigures and sanctifies the object of their endeavors, be it some mystery of philosophy, or art, or human science, some wrong to avenge, some justice to be obtained. Leonardo da Vinci walking the streets of Milan for his head of Christ, Bernard Palissy casting to the flames the furniture of his poor work-shop as a last holocaust to his fleeting dream of beauty, Columbus following his glorious ideal from one rebuff to another, are familiar examples of this highest and most efficient state of the heart, in which it overleaps the poor barriers of space and time, lays hold by anticipation of the cherished object, lives with it and for it, and compels the astonished body, like a sturdy slave, to outdo itself in endurance and sacrifice. Such was the mental temper of the Apostles, only immeasurably higher in degree, as much as divine faith surpasses human confidence. They knew whom they were serving, and through what an unspeakable tragedy they were missionaries on the great highways of the East and the West. They walked forever in the shadow of Calvary, and their ears were forever haunted by the parting accents of their Master: "Going therefore, teach all nations."

Henceforth no scorn shall chill their resolution, no apathy or dullness dim their courage. The world lay before them, its first great spiritual conquerors, sunk in the shadows of idolatry, with only here and there a point of light, the little jewries scattered over the Roman Empire and beyond, and those few chosen Gentile souls who were true to the law of nature and the impulses of the Holy Spirit. Before their generation was over, this world had recognized the Kingship of Jesus Christ, and a peaceful revolution had been accomplished, the immensity of whose import no one could yet fathom, but which rightly forms the division-line between the Old World and the New, between an imperfect and stumbling humanity in which the animal element was supreme and a humanity awakened, self-conscious, transmuted, in which the spirit was henceforth dominant, and which had henceforth its universal ideal, realized, living, eternal, tangible, attainable, enjoyable, in the person of its Mediator and its Saviour, Jesus Christ.

Indeed, the world was ready for their message of salvation. It was no savage or semi-cultured epoch into which Christianity was born, but one of elegant civilization, perfect in all the appointments of speech, literature, art, communication and administration. It was an enlightened age and the most progressive materially that has preceded our own. It was curious, critical, skeptical, with a view over the world of man and nature such as had not yet been reached.



And having touched the summit of external power this age began to turn inward upon itself, and to ask itself the meaning of life and death, of man and things, of the real uses of victory and defeat, of truth and goodness and beauty. The writers of the time show that many looked to the Orient and especially to Judaea for a Saviour, so powerful had been the Old Testament propaganda in the basin of the Mediterranean. The Sibyls, those strange intermediaries between Jew and Gentile, sang of an approaching age of gold, of an immortal reign of justice, of a Virgin and a celestial Child who were to be the authors of all future happiness. The popular philosophy, Stoicism, was of Oriental origin and borrowed much of its practical value from Semitic ethics. The eyes of the world were fixed on Judaea, if only because its mountains were the last refuge of ancient national liberty, and men were selling dearly on those sacred hills the great jewel of personal and religious freedom. The theology and the ethics of Israel were making proselytes among heart-weary men and women in every city and in every class of society. A general spirit of unrest pervaded mankind, the result of excessive public materialism unbalanced by any extra-mundane tendencies, and of a shattered faith in national and municipal gods. An undefined but aching sense of sin, a wild inarticulate cry for personal redemption, the individual need of expiation and internal purification, were borne in on every breath from the Orient. There is a deep significance in the old legend that at the hour of Christ's agony certain mariners on the Mediterranean heard, borne on the blast, the cry: "Great Pan is dead." The ancient travesties of religion typified by the Greek nature-god called Pan, had, indeed, finished their long career of failure and despair, and we may well repeat the fine lines of the modern poet:

"Earth outgrows the mystic fancies  
Sung beside her in her youth,  
And those debonair romances  
Sound but dull beside the truth.  
Phoebus' chariot course is run;  
Look up, poets, to the sun:  
Pan, Pan, is dead.

"Christ hath sent us down the angels,  
And the whole earth and the skies  
Are illumed by altar-candles  
Lit for blessed mysteries;  
And a priest's hand through creation  
Waveth calm and consecration;  
And Pan is dead."

But if the victory of the Apostles was rapid, it was not therefore entirely natural. It was far from being an easy evolution of a cosmopolitan tendency. The final establishment of the Christian society met with superhuman obstacles, so great and varied that they more than offset the circumstances that favored it. The Christian

Church has always taught that its original victories constituted a moral miracle sufficient to compel the attention of every seeker after truth, and to force them to look into her claims.

### III.

Within a hundred years after the death of Christ His religion might rightly be called a universal one. It had spread widely toward the Orient, crossed the Jordan, was flourishing in the great commercial cities of Syria and out on the great Syrian steppe. It had penetrated into Persia and away beyond, into remotest India. Trustworthy evidence shows that there were few Jewish communities into which the name and history of Christ had not gone and the Jews since the last captivity were settled throughout the entire Orient. It was strong enough in Alexandria to draw the attention of the Emperor Hadrian on his visit to that city, in the early part of the second century, and it was quickly carried over the entire Delta and along the great river, not only among the Græco-Romans, but also among the Old-Coptic villagers who intermingled with their masters. From golden Antioch it radiated throughout Northern Syria, followed all the roads of commerce that branched from there to the Caspian, up into the mountainous tablelands of Armenia, across the mighty snow-crowned ridges of the Taurus into Cappadocia, Galatia, Bithynia, and along the northern and southern coasts of Asia Minor. Peter and Paul, Barnabas and Mark, Timothy and John, had gone over all these great highways and sowed the good seed in their day. Every Christian community sent out in turn its swarms of nameless missionaries, who penetrated the remotest valleys and climbed into the most inaccessible regions.

Throughout the first and second centuries of Christianity there is observable a universal propaganda that transports Christian men and women in all directions and makes use of the political unity to organize and secure the unity of faith. Who can read unmoved the letters of St. Ignatius of Antioch to the Christian communities of Asia Minor and Rome? What a picture they show of widespread Christianity, with identical government and faith. And the pages of the Church historian, Eusebius, show us the same conditions throughout all Asia Minor in the following century, *i. e.*, before the year 200 A. D.—bishops preaching, traveling, holding synods, discussing with pagans, Jews and heretics. Within the last decade we have found the curious tombstone of one of these old missionary bishops, Abercius of Hieropolis, a city of Phrygia. Its inscription, prepared by himself, shows a man who had traveled the world from the Tiber to the Tigris in the interests of Christianity and who rejoiced that he had found among all these brethren no other faith



than that of St. Paul. This army of missionaries was yet needed and we know that they possessed for long decades no small share of the charismatic gifts of the apostolic period.

In the West the churches of Southern Italy received the faith of Christ at a very early date—being really a portion of the Greek world by language, institutions and traditions. Its progress was slower in Northern Italy, but within the apostolic times it had surely made some headway in Gaul, or what is known as Southern France, in Spain, and the islands of the Mediterranean. Long before the end of the second century it was firmly established in Northern Africa, and by the year 200 A. D. there was scarcely a prominent city in the Mediterranean world that did not have its Christian bishop with a clergy and a flourishing community. This was done without any human aid, in spite of every human hindrance, by the purely peaceful means of preaching and example. They had few writers and they depended little on the written page. One of the greatest of the first Christian missionaries, St. Irenæus of Lyons, tells us that the barbarian Kelts and Britons had the law of Jesus written on their hearts without paper or ink. They had the Christian Scriptures, no doubt, and venerated them, but they knew that the true guarantor of faith was the apostolic office and succession, that there alone could be found the criterion that enables men easily to distinguish among the claims of a hundred sects the original doctrine of Jesus. For that reason they kept with care the list of the apostolic churches, and consulted them in cases of need or doubt, and especially the Church of Rome, whose episcopal succession is the oldest and surest that we have, and was made out with great care, before SS. Peter and Paul were a hundred years dead, by St. Irenæus of Lyons and by Hegesippus, a Palestinian traveler. In other words, the first list of the bishops of Rome was not made out by Roman Christians who knew it too well, but by a Greek Asiatic and a Jew, who felt its need as the sure and sufficient pledge of the maintenance of the Catholic doctrine.

If the Christian missionaries could move easily from one place to another, and could find men and women speaking a common tongue—the Greek—they had not therefore converted them. In the great cities, as in the rural districts, among the most refined populations as well as among the semi-barbarians of the Empire, they found two great sources of almost insuperable obstacles—the social order and the religious condition. These obstacles they overcame before their death, and it is this victory which Christians call a moral miracle of the highest order. The conduct of the greatest intellectual adversaries of Christianity is in itself an indirect proof that its first propagation throughout the world was, morally speaking, an event that

transcended all human experience and analogy. These exacting critics leave nothing undone to transform the great victory of Jesus Christ over the Græco-Roman world into the stages of a natural and easy evolution in which every circumstance favors the Christian cause and operates equally to the detriment of the pagan religion and society.

Foremost among them is Edward Gibbon, the mirror of the philosophic irreligion of the eighteenth century, an arrogant and splenetic man who spurned the saving gift of faith, and consumed talent of the very highest order in the service of a shallow skepticism. For him Christianity is a phenomenon to be explained by a brief catalogue of natural situations and contemporary advantages. He ignores habitually or minimizes the true issue. With a constant uncharity he attributes or suggests motives that really exist only in his own imagination or heart. He lifts by the potent magic of words the secondary to the plane of the principal, and gives to the transitory or local or accidental in Christianity the supreme responsible rôle of a principle or an efficient cause. He emphasizes with the delicate patient care of a miniaturist every detail favorable to his own contentions, and cloaks in rhetorical silence whatever would reduce their value. By this long unbroken process of caricature he has given to the world an account of the first Christian ages that is a compound of rhetorical minimism, exaggeration and distortion. In it every paragraph is charged with infinite injustice. These literary wrongs are often, of course, very delicate and elusive. The whole picture of primitive Christianity as drawn by Gibbon is about as like the original facts as the misshapen Caliban was like the fairy nymph Ariel. There is in this extraordinary man something of Milton's graceful and humane Belial,

"He seemed  
For dignity composed and high exploit;  
But all was false and hollow; though his tongue  
Dropped manna and could make the worse appear  
The better reason."

He is the most expert special pleader known at the bar of history, owing to his enormous reading and maliciously retentive memory, his fine rare skill in summarizing, his unequalled architectonic talent in disposing his materials, and the supreme gift of a rhetoric at once solemnly and finically gorgeous. He climbs the cathedra of history and thunders therefrom like an Egyptian priest reciting the good and evil deeds of some dead Pharaoh. He is a compound of Rhadamanthus and Momus, foremost master of that dread art of satire, which is often only the expression of pride and hate, rather than of justice or equity. He "sapp'd a solemn creed with solemn sneer" at an unfortunate psychological moment when it lay humbled in the



dust by an astounding series of causes. But he is frequently inexact and careless in statements, as every new edition of his work shows. He is incurably afflicted with a cheap and flippant rationalism that runs always, animal-like, *terre-à-terre*, and can see nothing noble, divine, providential in the world's history. He has outlived Voltaire because he was graver and deeper than that protagonist; but he belongs to the same school that stubbornly weaves the web of facts on a fixed pattern and takes the harmony and brilliancy of its own coloring for the real face of history. Gibbon may well assign as causes of the rapid spread of Christianity the zeal of the early Christians, their belief in a future life of rewards and punishments, the power they claimed of working miracles, their pure and austere morality, their unity and discipline. But he leaves out the very soul of the Christian religion, *the love of Jesus Christ Crucified*, which was in every martyr's heart and mouth, and who so often appeared to them in their noisome prisons in ravishing visions like that of St. Perpetua. He has studied in vain the documents and monuments of those days who does not see that it was by the divine alchemy of love that Jesus transmuted the stony pagan heart into the living breathing Christian heart, and stamped it forever with His name, and sent it forth among mankind, the seat and source of infinite divine ardors and fancies—a weak and fleshly vessel, indeed, but interpenetrated with celestial virtue, and capable of shedding forever a healing spiritual aroma through a fainting and decaying world. Why should the belief in future punishments attract the Greeks and Romans, who according to Gibbon himself were abandoning their immemorial Styx and Tartarus? How could the Christian morality be attractive to the immoral masses whose lives it stigmatized and to its impenitent rulers? The causes that Gibbon assigns are as much effects as causes. Their own origin needs first to be explained, above all their combination in Christianity and at that time. As Cardinal Newman has well put it (*Grammar of Assent*, pp. 445 and 446): “If these causes are ever so available for his purpose, still that availableness arises out of their coincidence and out of what does that coincidence arise? Until this is explained, nothing is explained, and the question had better be let alone. These presumed causes are quite distinct from each other, and I say the wonder is, how they came together? How came a multitude of Gentiles to be imbued with Jewish zeal? How came zealots to submit to a strict ecclesiastical régime? What connection has such a régime with the immortality of the soul? Why should immortality, a philosophical doctrine, lead to belief in miracles, which is called a superstition of the vulgar? What tendency have miracles and magic to make men austere virtuous? Lastly, what power has a code of virtue as calm

and enlightened as that of Antoninus to generate a zeal as fierce as that of Maccabeus? Wonderful events before now have apparently been nothing but coincidences, certainly, but they do not become less wonderful by cataloguing their constituent causes, unless we show how they come to be constituent."

There is no parallel to this in the spread of Mohammedanism. The doctrine of Islam was spread by the sword. The idolaters, the heathen were exterminated, the Jews and Christians allowed to live, but in the most humiliating subjection and surrounded with odious restrictions. The lot of the Oriental Churches under Islam was the saddest imaginable. There have been wars innumerable among Christians in the name of religion, but they are clearly against the law of Jesus, while according to Mohammed the sacred war ought to be chronic. Islam is a national travesty of some of the best elements of Judaism and Christianity, elevated to the dignity of a universal religion. It is a poor, weak, grotesque worship, such as might arise in the brain of a visionary cataleptic and among a half savage people. It identifies Church and State. It is a wretched replica of Byzantine Cæsaropapism, and in all essential points is only a low-grade, universalized Arabism. It was the sense of political greatness, of national destiny that made its first followers fanatically brave. They fell upon peoples long unaccustomed to any resistance, in a moment when the military strength and system of the Empire were weakened by long wars, at a crisis when its own provinces turned traitor and admitted the enemy for the sake of revenge, because of the religious oppression and the civil despotism of Constantinople. How different is all this from the spiritual victory of Christianity with all its elevating influences and the embellishment and perfection of all human life with which it comes in contact!

In the first chapter of his Epistle to the Romans, St. Paul puts his finger on the chief source of opposition to the preaching of Christianity, the frightful immorality of the Roman world. That is the usual source of hatred for the preacher of the gospel, whether it comes from the Iroquois or the Chinese or some mediæval barbarian chief. Renan will not admit that it was as bad as St. Paul depicts it. But the rare examples of virtue that he cites are scattered over a long time, and only serve to intensify the moral horror of the reality. The imperfect but less immoral religions of Greece and Rome had become corrupted by their contact with the vile worships of Syria and Egypt, which made even the army of the empire their channel of propagation to the remotest West. These orgiastic religions of debauch drove out even the mysteries of Greece, and enthroned their horrid symbols in every community of the Roman world. Words fail to express, the tongue refuses to utter, the wretched



depths of moral degradation which human society had reached in the days of the first propagation of Christianity. The very worst vices were sheltered in the temples dedicated to the worship of the gods. Unnatural vice and general infanticide, profligacy and licentiousness in every shape, went unchecked, nay, were become laudable customs of society. The popular amusements, the stage, the circus, the arena, were one wild orgy of immorality; unfeeling cruelty to the weak and the helpless was the order of the day. Not only did the gladiators die by thousands in single combats to make a Roman holiday, but whole armies of men were compelled to bloody combat, for the pleasure of the populace. It has been said by a great scholar that "if the inner life were presented to us of that period which in political greatness and art is the most brilliant epoch of humanity, we should turn away from the sight with loathing and detestation. The greatest admirer of heathen writers, the man endowed with the finest sensibilities for beauty and form, would feel at once that there was a great gulf fixed between us and them which no willingness to make allowance for the difference of ages and countries would enable us to pass."

A hundred human interests were opposed to the spread of the new doctrine. The owners of the pythonical girl and the silversmiths of Ephesus were only types of a great multitude whose local and temporal interests were affected by Christianity, and who pursued its missionaries with the fiercest hatred. All the ministers of luxury and extravagance, all the multitudes who lived by the temples and the abominable superstitions of the age, all the traffickers in human flesh, were its sworn enemies. Though the offspring of Judaea, for several reasons it was the object of Jewish hate and opposition, and the Jews of the time were still a world-wide power with which the Empire itself deigned to reckon. Apostate brethren, angry excommunicated members, jealous public teachers or so-called philosophers, the pagan priesthood, professional spies and informers, the very members of his own family, were the daily cross of the primitive Christian. He walked as with a charmed life amid a world of enemies.

Withal, the little communities grew with incredible rapidity. Whole provinces like Bithynia were Christian before Christ was one hundred years dead. Before the end of the second century the most peaceful of religions had filled every city with its adherents, and one of its writers could threaten Roman society with desolation if the Christian multitude abandoned it. With its doctrines of equality, humility, charity, a future life, one understands with ease how it appealed to the world of slaves and lowly people. To these it brought a priceless balm, the assurance of another and a happier life, where

the iniquitous conditions of the present should be abolished or reversed. And yet with almost equal strength it attracted the hearts of many among the wealthy and the powerful. Among the first converts were Pharisee priests, a Roman pro-consul, a scholarly physician, a Greek judge, noble Jewish matrons, women of refinement. A fourth-century legend tells how at the birth of Christ a fountain of oil burst forth from the soil of Rome. A cistern of sweet waters had, indeed, broken out in the social desert of the Græco-Roman life, and already the renown of its virtues was noised abroad to the ends of the earth. In spite of the external splendor and grandeur of their conditions a multitude of the better classes were suffering profoundly from the emptiness, the insufficiency, the growing horror of life. Only too often they went out of it by the dark but open door of suicide, and there is a profound truth in the picture of their mental sadness and despair that Matthew Arnold offers us:

"On that hard pagan world disgust  
And secret loathing fell,  
Deep weariness and sated lust  
Made human life a hell.

"In his cool hall, with haggard eyes  
The Roman noble lay;  
He drove abroad in furious guise  
Along the Apian way.

"He made a feast, drank deep and fast,  
And crowned his brow with flowers,  
No easier nor no quicker passed  
The impracticable hours."

Unwittingly, the aristocratic writer Tacitus is the first to reveal the names of Roman nobles who took refuge in the teachings of Jesus. Pomponia Græcina, the wife of the Roman conqueror of Britain, Flavius Clemens, the Roman consul, with his wife and niece, the two Flaviæ Domitillæ, whose Christianized family cemetery may yet be seen at Rome. Before the year 100 A. D. the family of the Acilii Glabriones, the proudest in Rome, was Christian. Henceforth the epitaphs of the Catacombs show us the descendants of Cicero and Atticus and Seneca among the humble adorers of Jesus, often themselves blessed martyrs—like Cæcilia and Agnes. In the oldest parts of the oldest Catacombs we come across the broken epitaphs of Christian Æmilii, Corneli, Maximi, Attici, Pomponii, Bassi, and many others of the foremost families of republican Rome. The pagan priests, the philosophers, the magistrates, might sneer at the rustic, uncultured and gross mob of Christians; the latter knew that before the altar of many a little Christian church there knelt with them the near relatives of the rulers of the world. The rulers of the world themselves were more than once attracted by the doctrine and the society of Jesus. Long before Constantine, the Christians could claim the Emperor Philip the Arabian as one of their



body, while the Abgars and the Tigranes, kings of Edessa and of Armenia, were Christians before the end of the third century, as was also the Greek king of the Crimean Bosphorus. It is an old Christian tradition that Tiberius desired to place Christ among the gods, but was prevented by the Senate. So, too, the Emperor Hadrian is said to have built many temples to Christ, in which no statue was placed. The Emperor Marcus Aurelius was attracted by the healing powers of the Christian bishops, as was his near successor Septimius Severus. Caracalla was brought up by a Christian nurse, with Christian playmates. Commodus had a Christian wife. Although his prime minister, Ulpian, was so anti-Christian that he is said to have codified the legislation hostile to the Church, Alexander Severus placed the portrait of Christ in his private chapel, and commended the concord and prudence of the Christian bishops to his generals and magistrates as models for their administration. An early legend made Christians of the wife and daughter of Decius, perverting no doubt the real fact of the Christianity of the wife and daughter of Diocletian. A hundred years before Constantine, the Christians had become *the* problem of the Empire. As they multiplied the state wavered again and again in its treatment of them. Pagan Cæsars and Christian bishops were indeed mutually exclusive of one another, as Decius very clearly saw. The former could never break away from the antique view of state supremacy and all-sufficiency. On the other hand, learned Christians were forecasting little by little the dawn of a reconciliation that to some, however, seemed the last word of folly and spiritual blindness.

THOMAS J. SHAHAN.

Catholic University, Washington, D. C.

---

## A STUDY IN THE FLORA OF HOLY CHURCH.

THE sympathy that especially exists between the human mind and the lilies and grass of the field is shown by the fact that in every form of faith that has exercised any living influence in the world, man has turned to them to aid him in expressing the object of his regard, and sought to find in them emblems or symbols of the controlling emotion of his heart. It is not so much in the formal and outward dress of a religion that we should look for evidence of its real effect upon people's minds, but in the piety of thought that it has engendered and produced in its votaries; the one is greatly the historic clothing of the creed, governed by rule and often maintained when the creed itself has lost its power, while the resultant of the creed's teaching is more justly estimated by the feel-

ings of the heart shown by the natural expression of them in the habits and customs of its professors; these spring spontaneously from an earnest community, finding their manifestation in things always simple and easily understood since they are the result of the bursting forth of emotions too vivid and genuine to be nice or fantastic, and too overpowering and vast to be studious of form. It makes us realize how barrenly ugly and unimaginative modern life has become, if we visit some country or town once devotedly Catholic and now Protestant; there we see not only architectural remains that abundantly testify to how the piety of the old days found its vent in wayside chapel and nobly adored churches, but if we investigate more below the surface we shall discover in the customs and homely folklore of the peasant a great store of traditional habit and nomenclature that may now have lost all meaning to them, but which tells to the Catholic of religious observances long forgotten. These will show us how graciously the devotion of the children of Holy Church was wont to play about herb and bird, insect and star, in days when the sympathy between the kingdoms of nature and of grace was apprehended by a childlike objectivity of faith and affection. The piety of thought that is produced even now wherever a Catholic mission is really working earnestly is quite stupendous in its intensity if we did but consider it, and when this permeates a great community at unity in one faith it forms for itself a symbolic language, taking, most frequently, some flower to express its emotion, since the symbol will speak when words are silent, say more than words can ever utter. It is in this way that the folklore that tells of the sacramentalism of common things arose in centuries long gone. In Protestant lands and by Protestant writers it has often been the habit to label most tokens of this spirit as superstition, but the ignorance is with those who so style it. It would take us too far away from our immediate object to illustrate this in several departments of the world of nature; it is sufficient to say that most of the sacred dedications of flowers have borne the taunt.

We are proposing to trace among the "herbs of the field" evidences of this piety of thought which have lingered on in various parts of Europe from mediæval days, and we shall find that just as they set up the sign of man's Redemption amid the chaffering of their market-places and along their roadsides so, too, amid the herbage of their meadows or the trees of their forests they found ready emblems to take their thoughts away from earth's cares and allurements, if only for the moment, to the life of self-sacrifice completed upon Calvary; and thus they consecrated the world as God's earth and made their life thereon a pilgrimage with Nature a very handmaid of grace.

It must not be expected that the illustrations of this spirit will be



gathered from the rare exotics of our conservatories, although it is the wild flowers of other countries that are often those we treasure there; but the choice was made by simple, earnest folk among the ordinary plants of their land, and it was to their fields and hedgerows that they turned for their types and emblems. Like as the republic of art acknowledges no aristocracy of condition and kind, but only the credentials of beauty, so amongst the *Flora pia*, it is virtue or significance that rank higher than rarity and attractiveness.

We will begin by tracing some references in this folklore nomenclature to certain of the prominent actors in the Passion of Our Divine Lord, and take first the "Jews of the Crucifixion" as they are styled. Their poor souls have had many habitats assigned to them in popular tradition, and just as legend tells of the bodily wanderings of Kartophilos, Pilate's porter, so the souls of those immediately concerned in the demand "Crucifige Eum" are said to be doomed to wander restlessly in the air until the Day of Doom. In Lancashire they call Plovers, "Wandering Jews," and the moorsman hearing the cry of "The Seven Whistlers," as a covey of them is named, considered it a sign of impending misfortune; strangely enough in Morocco they have the name Yahudi or Jew for the same bird. The Toledo Jews, in Spain, alone claim to be free from the curse brought upon their race by their invocation "Sanguis Ejus super nos et super filios nostros," for they say that their ancestors refused to vote for the death of Our Lord. The potent petition of the dying Saviour for the forgiveness of those who knew not what they were doing could only be made effective, like every grace, by the assent of the human will of man, and it is this obduracy to the divine offer which made Christian peoples regard the penalty of blood as due at their hands. The law of many countries ordained that they should be clothed in muddy yellow garments, the color of Judas, and in France their doors once were daubed with that hue, like those of traitors, and hence in the language of color it became the symbolic dye of unfaithfulness, envy, deceit and jealousy. The Yellow Wild Woad or Dyers' Rocket (*Reseda luteola*) and others of like hue are *Herbes des Juifs* for this, among other reasons, but many of the plants bearing their name were so called from their poisonous nature, while others again from being employed in Jewish ritual or in their pharmacy. The poisonous Spurge (*Euphorbia Tithymaloides*) is Jews' Milk in Germany and Switzerland; that most dangerous of British plants, the Deadly Nightshade (*Atropa belladonna*), called by our forefathers "Death's herb," is in Austria, Jews' Cherry. "Naughty Man's Cherry" was another of our country names for it, and it is often spoken of in old herbals as "a wicked weed," foetid in its leaves and repulsive in its flower, which is a chocolate colored

bell, dull and pale, with lurid yellow markings at the bottom. They who eat its sweet, tempting, black, cherry-like fruit become maniacs in a few hours, and hence Shakespeare calls it the "insane root;" even half of a berry has been known to prove mortal. Its attractive title of Belladonna comes from its use as a cosmetic by ladies anxious to remove from the face stains or freckles which were called the Brand of Cain or the Marks of Judas. The Green Yarrow (*Achillea millefolium*), great in charms of love as well as in medicine, and the Yellow Solidago or Golden Rod, were both Jews' Worts in France, Germany and Italy; they were powerful as astringents in external and internal hemorrhages and probably only connected with the Jew in his leechcraft. The same remark possibly applies to other wound-worts, such as the *Stachys annua* or *Judenkraut*; *Staphylea pinnata* or Jews' Nuts; the Biting Stonecrop (*Sedum*) or *Judensträubel*; and the White Swallow herb (*Vincetoxicum*) or Jews' Wort. There is a sedge-like plant, the Common Cotton-grass (*Eriophorum polystachion*) with head of white fluffy seed, which has in Silesia the name of Jews' Feather, for what reason we cannot discover, while the Saxifrage which we know as Aaron's Beard is *Judenbart* in Germany.

It would almost seem as if the scene of the Jews crowding into Gethsemani with lanterns and staves had been recalled in the name of the plants so popularly known as Jews' or Winter Cherry (*Physalis Alkekengi*). Those commonly sold are so transformed by cultivation that the striking feature of its reference is lost. Naturally as it grows in cottage gardens it has a bright orange-red bladder formed by a persistently accrescent calyx, as the botanists would say, and this encloses a small cherry, making it resemble a miniature Chinese lantern with a red wax candle within. In France they call it *La lanterne*, and this, in alliance with Jews' Cherry, might permit us to think that it may have once been connected in thought with the Jews' lanterns at the Betrayal. So, too, the Spotted Arum, which is called Gethsemani in Cheshire, and in every land bears some name in reference to the Passion, has a wick-like spadix or spike shielded by a broad spathe, suggesting its name in Italy of *Lantenaria* or *Erba saetta*. But it is very hazardous to guess at these similarities and unwise to make strained analogies.

As our Saviour was being betrayed by the kiss of Judas, a servant of the High Priest Caiaphas "laid hands" upon Our Lord, whereupon the ardent St. Peter struck off the assailant's ear. A beautiful lesson was taught in mediæval representations of this scene—as in the Hours of Anne of Bretagne—by making the Saviour half turning His Face away as He receives the traitor's salute, while He touches the ear of Malchus and restores it again. There is a fungus (*Boletus*



*juglandis*) which is known in France as *L'oreille de Malchus*, and there are also several called Jews' Ears, but these latter need not be connected with this miracle or with Jews generally, unless this feature was formerly an object of comment like another is popularly nowadays, and as a Jew's eye once was.

It would appear from St. Matthew that it was not until Judas saw the result of his treason that he realized the depth of his crime and was seized with that awful remorse. In the valley of the Kedron, about a hundred yards away from a rock-hewn tomb called that of Zacharias, they still point to where the tree stood upon which the traitor ended his life. Guides are wont to show visitors a solitary and distorted trunk that remains near a ruin upon the Hill of Evil Counsel, but they probably have confounded the site of the suburban residence of Caiaphas, where Judas is said to have gone to propose his fell deed. There are many species of trees to each of which has been assigned the evil notoriety of being that upon which the apostate hung himself. The most popular opinion in early days was that it was a Fig, and certainly among the primitive Fathers this tree had a bad reputation. The shape of its fruit resembling that of a burse or bag, hanging amidst the leaves, may have aided to confirm the tradition. In the fourth century (A. D. 329) Juvenius says of Judas: "Informem rapuit Ficus de vertice mortem" (*Migne Pat. Lat.* xix., p. 331), and Barradius gives the query and reply: "Quaeret aliquis qua ex arbore Judas se suspenderit? Arbor Ficus fuisse dicitur." In Sicily and elsewhere in Southern Europe it is the Fig which is popularly held to be the Tree of Judas. There are, however, others to which the name has been given figuratively perhaps more than in actual identification. It is an exceedingly early Celtic tradition that makes the Elder tree so called. Its hollowness, untrustworthiness, and its many direful qualities were all attributed to its having been polluted by the weight of the "son of perdition;" so hateful was it that even the evil spirits themselves were thought to flee from its neighborhood, a fact very wisely turned to account apparently by those who believed in the story, for in the Isle of Man, Train remarks, scarcely an old cottage was to be seen without its Trammon or Elder; and this not through any love of the tree itself, but from its potency being so great that it homœopathically neutralized all baleful influences that sorcery and witchcraft could employ, and between the contending powers of evil man went his way in peace. "He who goes to sleep under an Elder tree will never wake" is an old saying, the narcotic effect of its flower being so powerful. Its leaves scattered about are reputed to drive away rats, mice and moles and a decoction made from them to destroy insect life; its root produces a dye of deadly black, its pith is said to have electric affinities,

and Elder-flower water is still used as a cosmetic to remove freckles and heat rash, known in France as *Le bran de Judas*. Piers Plowman in his Vision (l. 593-596) says:

Judas he japed  
With Jewish siller,  
And sithen on an Elder Tree  
Hanged himself,

and the early pilgrim Sir John Mandeville, speaking of the Pool of Siloe in 1364, says: "Faste by is zit the tree of Eldre that Judas hange himself upon for despeyr that he hadde, whanne he solde and betrayed Our Lorde." Ben Jonson, in "Every Man out of Humour" (iv. 4) says: "He shall be your Judas, and you shall be his Elder Tree to hang on;" while Shakespeare repeats the same tradition in "Love's Labour Lost" (v. 2). A piece of the tree is said to be preserved in the private chapel at Ambras, near Innsbruck, a scarcely desirable relic!

There is a fungus that grows upon the Elder resembling the human ear, and to this has been given the name of *Excidia Auricula Judae*, Fries.; in France it is known as *Oreille de Judas*, in Germany as *Judas-schwamm*, and in most other lands by similar designations; in England it has become corrupted into Jews' Ear. Curiously enough it was deemed to be salutary in all throat complaints, including strangulation, as if Mother Nature had endeavored to redeem by its virtue the foul deed which had blackened the fair fame of one of her children. An old rustic doggrel verse says:

For coughs take Judas' Eare  
With the parynge of a Peare,  
And drink them without feare,  
If ye will have remedy.

The Wild Locust or Carob Tree (*Cercis Siliquastrum*) which is often confounded with the True Carob of Palestine (*Ceratonia Siliqua*) is known throughout Europe as a Judas Tree. Its purple papilionaceous blossoms appear in large clusters about Passion-tide in advance of the pale green foliage, its branches hang like an umbrella, and some say that it gets its name from it having been beneath its shade that

Judas kissed his Master  
And cried "All Hail!" when he meant *all harm*.  
(Shaks. 3 Henry VI., 7.)

Once, legend says, it was an upright, noble tree, but since then it has shrunk into a large straggling bush, while the pods containing its seeds resemble the long, old-fashioned purses which recall the source of the traitor's fall. No insect will touch its leaves and no use can be made of its wood.

The quivering Aspen is another tree that has been connected in legend with Judas, the ceaseless tremor of its leaves, even when all

around is still, has always afforded a favorite source of interest. But more popularly this type of shivering fear is attributed either to its having formed the wood of the Cross, or as being the one tree in the woods that refused to bow in adoration to the Creator when He passed through their midst. In Scotland, however, Napier says, they liked to fancy that this habit came from its horror at having borne the traitor's body, a belief still current also in Russia, while in parts of Germany it is known as *Judenmai*, a probable corruption of Judas' May.

There are yet others found with a like association, as the Weeping Willow in Spain, the Ironwood (*Cossignia pinnata*) in Mauritius; while in Sicily they say of the African Tamarisk that once it was a handsome and useful forest tree, but now is ugly, misshapen, dwarfed and useless, incapable of lighting even the smallest fire, since it was withered by the touch of Judas. One of their proverbs to indicate entire worthlessness may be often heard: "You are like the *vruca* wood, which yields neither fire nor ashes."

In France the small vicious Nettle (*Urtica urens*) has been very aptly styled *L'herbe de Judas*, from pouring its little sac of poison into the dagger-like puncture that it makes in the hand that would caress it. It is said that the Patience or Passion Dock grows always near to heal the wound it has inflicted.

The Burse of Judas is usually represented in old paintings or carving as hanging about his neck, and it is no doubt alluded to in the fruit of the Fig and the long pod of the Wild Carob. The Field Cress (*Lepidium campestre*) and the Shepherd's Cress (*Capsella Bursa Pastoris*), two very humble little weeds, have both spires of small seed vessels resembling purses, and hence in France they are known as *La bourse de Judas*. The contents of that purse have also their memory preserved in the floral world, for the pretty silver seed vessels of the herb Honesty (*Lunaria*) or Moonwort are known in various countries as Les médailles de Judas, Judaspenge, or Judassilberling. It was a pious thought of Denis the Carthusian that each piece of silver paid for the Saviour was equal to ten pence *ordinarii*, the whole therefore equivalent to the three hundred pence spent by St. Mary Magdalene upon the spikenard for anointing the Saviour, which Judas termed "a waste." It was also a pious custom to recite thirty verses of Psalm cviii. as the soul's exchange for this price of Blood, and for all who betray their Lord in intention, as did Judas and the Jews. Beneath the overhanging walls of Zion, where gray olives and fig trees shoot from the fissures in those ancient stones, lies the traditional Aceldama or Field of Blood, overhung by one precipice and with another striking down from its limits to the valley beneath, and it was from this *Ager figuli*, purchased by the money given for the



life of the Son of God, that St. Helena sent the shiploads of soil to Rome for the Basilica of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme.

The name of Jews' Ears, Jews' Lugs given in various parts of the British Isles to the *Peziza coccinea* and other species of the Blood-cup Fungus are no doubt corruptions of Judas' Ears; we have already alluded to another bearing the same name and growing upon the roots of the Elder. The Navelwort or Wall-pennywort (*Cotyledon umbilicus*) is known in Sicily as *Oricchi di Judea*, and its thick, flat, peltate leaves abound upon the mud and stone walls of the West of England and of Ireland; but why the ears of Judas should call for special attention we cannot imagine. There is a shell also known as *Voluta auris Judae*, so that it is evident that this was a singularly distinct feature. Perhaps the Passion plays made it very prominent as indicative of his seeking occasion by listening to catch the Master, just as Spy Wednesday has given a name to one of the days in Holy Week. One might have expected that the performance of Ober-Ammergau would have helped one in this matter, but that has been so elaborated that there is little left of mediæval peculiarities in the character of Judas. The folklore that gathered about him must be very great; for instance, there is amongst every class in Ireland, and it is to be found very generally in England and possibly throughout Europe, a feeling that it is very unlucky to upset salt at table, because Judas is said to have done so at the Last Supper, and at Ammergau they have retained this tradition. To sit down thirteen to table is also deemed unfortunate, since the first to rise of the thirteen in the Upper Chamber was Judas, and hence in France that number is styled *Le point de Judas*. To be Judas' haired, *i.e.*, of a dull red, was thought to be deceitful, and numerous other sayings and observances centre upon this lost Apostle, whose very name is a brand of infamy.

It is rather a relief to turn away from these miserable actors in the great drama of the Passion, although the gathering of the folklore connected with them in the botanical world is necessary if we wish to form a complete Flora of the closing portion of the Life of Our Lord on earth. We will now endeavor to trace in the Way of the Cross two memorials we find recalled by the sacred dedications of herbs and trees.

The way to Calvary taken by Our Blessed Lord "was almost the same," Didon says, "as that which Christians of Jerusalem know by the name of the 'Way of Sorrow.' It passes through the lower town or Acra, crosses the lower street, called by Josephus the valley of Tyropæon, separating Acra from Gareb, and then rises in a rather steep slope up to the Gate of Ephraim. At this spot the city enclosure formed an angle, one of the sides of which was a straight line

drawn from the Tower of Hippicus on the west to the Gate of Gennath on the east, the other side starting from the Gate of Gennath and going due north. It was within this triangular space, only twenty yards outside the walls, that the place of execution was situated." At the foot of the Sancta Scala Our Blessed Lord would receive His Cross, and at its site the second Station of the Via Crucis is kept. A broken pillar or some casual mark is all that is now possible whereby to distinguish the different stations; they do not pretend to be more than helps to the palmer so that he may not lose the precious moments; the whole distance from the Praetorium to Calvary is scarcely a thousand paces and was traversed in less than an hour; if the events did not occur at the identical spots indicated they must have done so within a few yards of them, only it was wisely arranged to form a sequence for meditation so that there should be no need for distracting study at a moment when all must wish to pray. The first nine Stations are along this Via Dolorosa, the last five within the great Basilica which now covers Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre.

Our task is not to follow these stations in rotation, but only to take those of which remembrance is apparently to be found in the sympathetic flora, and which may remind us perhaps in other lands of this pilgrimage as we daily make our own along earth's fields.

The Meeting of Mother and Son is the IV. Station and one of the Seven Dolors of the Blessed Virgin. The crushing weight of agony to the tender Mother on beholding the physical change caused by that night of torment upon Him once the "fairest of the children of men," with a visage now marred more than any man's, and the corresponding affliction to the perfect Son are thoughts equally moving. The concluding contemplation of the devotion of The Seven Dolors is that on the Tears of the Maria desolata, and the Tears of Jesus and Mary have been recalled to pious hearts by many an humble plant.

The pretty grass *Coix lacryma*, whose "every grain resembleth the drop or teare that falleth from the eye," as the old herbalist Gerarde says, is more popularly known now as Job's Tears, perhaps in reverent shrinking from its sacred names. Yet in all parts of Germany, France, Holland, Italy and Portugal, it may still be found to be spoken of as Christustränen, Lacrime de Gesù, Corai della Madonna, Larmes de Nôtre Dame, Marien thränen, Lagrymas de Nostra Senhora, and the like, while in Brazil the same dedications prevail for it. A similar alliance of names is found in the Red and White Campions (*Lychnis diurna*) called Christ's Eyes and Mary's Tears in Germany and France, as though wherever that sacred grief had fallen earth had blossomed with these pretty buds that yield such fragrance in the night. So, too, the pure, enamelled white flower

which we in England are familiar with as The Star of Bethlehem (*Ornithogalum*), is better known in France and Spain as The Tears of Christ and the Madonna; perhaps, however, like its kinsman, the *Allium Triquetrum*, which is the Lagrimas de la Virgen in Spain, etc., the reference is more to the scene in Bethlehem's poor stable than to this closing event in the Saviour's life.

The Common Gromwell (*Lithospermum*) was called in England in the days of Parkinson, the Herbarist of Elizabeth and James I., Christ's Tears, and it is still in Italy, France and Germany those of the Ladye Marye. Its seeds suggested the names perhaps, even more than its little floweret, for the former are gray, or yellowish of hue, very hard, brittle and exquisitely polished, so that they look like the pearls of sorrow fossilized, and in Spanish they have the pretty title of *Granos de amor*. The dark spots upon the leaves of those herbs so closely associated by popular reference to the Passion, such as the *Arum maculatum*, *Orchis latifolia*, *maculata* and *mascula*—have been attributed to having first arisen from Mary's Tears falling upon them; the *Briza media* or Trembling Grass, known in East Anglia as Our Lady's Hair, is in parts of the German Fatherland *Muttergottesthränen* or the Tears of the Mother of God, while the *Drosera* or Gideon's Fleece, that type of the Mother's Virginity, retains the same title in Scandinavia for the sparkling dewdrops that cover it.

There is in Spain the name for the Brookweed *Samole* (*Samolus Valerandi*) of "Ansiamet de la Mare de Deu," as it appears in the Catalonian dialect, and which they seem to associate in some way with the Dolours of the Mother of God, but why we cannot tell. Another humble little plant is that known to the English peasantry as Our Lady's Traces (*Spiranthes*), which springs up, they say, in a night about the meadows as if marking the passage of her feet in the grass. The Germans call it Mary's Tears, and we might unite them both by thinking that it registered her steps along this Highway of Grief, where the traces of her going must have been watered with her tears.

The name of "Wandering Jew" given to many wayward, straggling creepers is probably entirely a modern one, otherwise we might include this reference to a popular, although not ecclesiastical legend, connected with the progress towards Calvary. The Sixth Station, however, commemorates an event not recorded in the Gospels, but handed down from the very earliest ages, when one of the "Daughters of Jerusalem" performed that act of womanly thought and tenderness of wiping the Saviour's Brow. Gathering up her long Eastern veil and folding it in three she sought to remove the trickling Blood and moisture from Our Lord's Face, and there is nothing improbable in the story or necessarily miraculous in the



result. The stains made sufficient impression to recall the Divine Face to the beholders, and the Sacred Sudarium, as it is called, is one of the most valued possessions of St. Peter's at Rome. Engravings of this are now easily obtainable and are found in most churches, but once they were exceedingly rare, and the town of Halifax is said to have been so christened from the possession of one of these. The real name of the good woman is unknown, it is usually thought to have been Berenice, Veronice or Veronica, and it is under this name that the Church honors her. The pretty little flower known as Veronica, or by that title which sounds like a benediction, Speed-well—an exact correspondent to Farewell—is undoubtedly named in connection with this scene on the Way of the Cross; as Hooker and Arnott say in their "British Flora," "it is obviously derived from *ἱερὰ εἶκον* the sacred picture, the flower (like St. Veronica's handkerchief) being imagined to have a representation of the countenance of Our Saviour." Personally I do not feel so sure of this having been the reason, but have no doubt that it was a wayside memorial of the gracious act of the holy woman. In Languedoc it is still known as Berounico; in parts of Germany as Schweitz-Cristi or Christ's Sweat, and in Devon and Lancashire as God's Eyes. It was introduced into Europe in the middle ages, and it bore another title which was doubtless a prayer made to the Holy Face when its beautiful azure blossom was seen, viz., "Remember me and Forget me not." It is not fanciful to surmise that in days when all civil and domestic life was permeated by an affectionate familiarity between men and God and His saints that this little flower conveyed a language of love between friends of a more elevated character than we usually associate with a flower such as the Forget-me-not or Myosotis, and that in giving the Veronica there was implied the petition May God's Face go with you:

Not for thy azure tint, though bright,  
Nor form so elegant and light,  
I single thee, thou lovely flower,  
From others of the sylvan bower—  
Thy name alone is like a spell,  
And whispers Love, in "Speed thee well!"

The Sacred Sudarium or Vernicle was said to be possessed of many wondrous virtues, and so with this humble little herb; Francus wrote a book upon its usefulness and especially that of the species *Veronica orientalis* which is said to have cured a King of France of leprosy, and to have proved a source of thankfulness to many an unhappy wife by making her a joyful mother of children.

The *Linaria spuria*, Mill., of the same family as the above, is known as "Herbo de Santo Verounico" in the dialect of Southern France, and the *Arum maculatum*, among its many associations with the Passion, has the name in Silesia of Veronikenwurzel, from the

stains upon its leaves suggesting the veil spotted and stained with Blood.

The number of trees and herbs connected with the Cross, either by way of identification or of figure, is far too extensive to permit of our dealing with now. We turn to a series of plants than which few can be more interesting to the Christian botanist, since they have been allied to the Passion from either bearing marks upon their foliage or by the shape or color of their blossom suggesting the Sacred Blood of the Redeemer. When once we recognize the symbolism that the piety of our Catholic forefathers saw, these flowers will take quite a new place in our regard and affections, and it is incumbent upon us to preserve their reverent imaginative spirit not only in domestic life, but also in the applied arts in our churches.

Perhaps one of the most striking emblems of the Precious Blood is that afforded by the Fuchsia, whose thick bush bears quantities of pendant, graceful, crimson blossoms, often with red sepals and dark purple petals that add to its arrestive symbolism. In Denmark and Scandinavia it has been christened Christ's Blood Drops (*Kristi Blodsdrave*), and it is an instance of the same spirit in comparatively recent times of religious association in floral nomenclature to that which prevailed in mediæval ones. Certainly to see this shrubby tree in its natural state, bedewed with its crimson goutts, immediately satisfies the eye with the appropriateness of the dedication and should be a vivid source of sacred thought. There is also another modern dedication of a *Medicago*, now known as Calvary Clover, whose delicate seed vessel unrolls and forms a miniature Crown of Thorns; the leaves of one species bear dark stains which remind those who prize these memorials in nature of the stains beneath the Cross, while within the seed-ball are grains of a dark red color all bearing a similar reference.

The Scarlet Anemone (*A. coronaria*), whose ruby red flower carpets the roadsides about Jerusalem at Passiontide, is always an object of attraction to pilgrims thither. Dean Stanley remarked upon it in his "Sinai and Palestine" tour with the present King Edward VII. (pp. 99n. and 139.) "Of all the ordinary aspects of the country," he says, "this blaze of scarlet color is perhaps the most peculiar; and to those who first enter the Holy Land it is no wonder that it has suggested the touching and significant name of 'The Saviour's Blood-drops.'" No flower is more common in Palestine during the early spring, crowding the valleys, adorning the highways and climbing the hilltops. Mr. Harvey Greene says: "It is gorgeous in color and at the same time graceful in all its proportions. Its usual hue is a bright scarlet, but in parts of Galilee and the Plains of Sharon it is sometimes white, while about Jaffa I have seen fields

blue with its delicate petals." It is interesting to note that in France and Belgium the Wood Anemone, although that is white, bears the name of Fleur de Vendredi Saint, but that is perhaps only in reference to the time at which it appears.

Thorpe in his "Northern Mythology" speaks of a plant, the *Rood-selken*, that grows in Flemish fields, bearing red spots upon its bright green leaves betokening "the Blood which fell from the Cross and which neither rain nor snow has been able to wash off." It is difficult to identify from this description what it really is, but perhaps it is the Spotted Persicary he meant, although its lanceolate leaf bears a dark stain, not a red one; for long ages this has had a similar tradition attached to it, and we find the Gaels of Ireland and Scotland naming it as "Lus chrann ceusaidh," i. e., the herb of the Tree of Crucifixion, or "Am boinnefola," the Blood Spot. Toxites in the sixteenth century speaks of it as "*Persicaria cum sigillo Sanguinis Christi*"—the Persicary with the Sigil of Christ's Blood—while in parts of Germany and Provence it is yet known as Christ's wort. There are several of this same family of plants of somewhat similar appearance and dedication. The *Polygonum Bistorta* and *Rumex Patientia* have the name in the northern part of England of the Patience or Passion's Doks, in Italy of Erba della Paziienza, and in Spain, Yerba de la Paciencia; the *Rumex acetosella* is called Le Sang de Jesu Crist in the Balearic Isles, the *Polygonum lapathifolium*, Christkrut in parts of Germany, all no doubt from the crimson or red of their flower heads. The *Rumex sanguineus*, whose transparent leaves showing their red veining, is a singularly remarkable and beautifully curious plant and one which we would have anticipated to find noticed, but at present the only sacred dedication we have met with is that in Brittany of Louzaouen-ann-Itroun-Varia, or Herb of Our Lady Mary.

The delicate annual, the Common Fumitory, with its much-divided leaves and small rosy-colored flowers, has been termed Sangre de Cristo in Spain, a dedication found for both the *Fumaria officinalis* and *spicata*, but the alliance of these and other species of the same plant to the infancy of the Saviour leads us to imagine that the reference is more to that first shedding of the Sacred Blood at the Circumcision than to that upon the Cross. They have in the same land a similar name for a species of Safflower (*Kentrophyllum lanatum*, D. C.) the red dye of whose blossom probably suggested its title, and in the South of France they call it in their Provençal patois, "Trounc de nostre Segné," in Aragon Azota Cristos, and in Granada Espino de Cristo. Rouge for use as a cosmetic is made from the dried corollas of those species of this plant known as *Carthamus tinctorius* by treating them with carbonate of lime and lemon juice.



Several of the British and European Orchidaceæ have spotted leaves, which have long been attributed to their having been bedewed with the Blood of the Crucified Saviour:

Those deep unwrought marks  
The villager will tell thee  
Are the flower's portion from the Atoning Blood  
On Calvary shed. Beneath the Cross it grew.—Mrs. Hemans.

These dark stains are especially noticeable on the *Orchis maculata*, *latifolia* and *mascula*, known in German-speaking lands as *Herrgotts Fleisch und Blout* and by similar sacred titles.

In the St. John's wort (*Hypericum perforatum*), which is dedicated to the Baptist, we have names that seem to bring him, like that other St. John, very close to the Cross, for we find it catalogued in old German herbals as *Christi Wundenkraut*, *Herrgottsblud*, *Unsers Herrgotts Wundenkraut* and the like, for the tiny dark purple spots and lines upon its petals, calyx and leaves, and the red essential oil which the plant possesses, recalled both the Forerunner's Death and the Saviour's redeeming Blood. To many an old crusading Knight of St. John the *Hypericum* was a sovran balm for "Warrior's Wounds," equalled only by the "Oil of Charity" afforded by the *Lancea Christi* or *Ophioglossum*. The potency of St. John's or Our Lord's, Woundwort was deemed so great that its presence upon the person was thought to be a preservative against all harm, and in days of chivalry before two knights engaged in contest each was obliged to give his pledge that he had not this herb about him, so that no unfair advantage might be taken. Like as in the words of the Hymn to the Precious Blood,

Oft as It is sprinkled on our guilty hearts  
Satan in confusion terror-struck departs,

so this plant bore the name of *Fuga Daemonum* from its typical character, or, as the Swedes call it, "*Satansflyght*;" it was thus a favorite to hang up in every home about their beds; as we read of an old warrior:

St. John's wort and fresh Cyclamen, he in his chamber kept  
From the power of evil Angels to guard him while he slept.

There was another powerful root much valued in the days when the Physic garden with its Apothecary beds was the Druggist's Store, and this was the Common Vervain or Simpler's Joy (*Verbena*), a plant held in sacred reverence long before the Christian era dawned; it continued to be a *herba sacra* in Christian eyes, although *Herba Crucis* had succeeded *Herba Isidis* or *Herba Druidica*. Manifold medicinal virtues led to the name of the Simpler's Joy being bestowed upon it, but mediæval leechcraft appears to have thought that it needed a sort of exorcism to be pronounced over it before

plucking in order to purge it of the old taint of paganism. Thus we find the following :

Hallowed be thou, Vervain, as thou growest on the ground,  
On the Mount of Calvary there thou once wast found.  
Thou healedst Our Saviour Jesus Christ, and staunchedst His bleeding Wound,  
In the name of Father, Son and Holy Ghost, I take thee from the ground.

Or another form :

Hail to thee, Holy Herb! growing on the ground,  
On the Mount of Olivet first wert thou found.  
Thou art good for many an ill, and healedst many a wound.  
In the name of Father, Son and Holy Ghost, I lift thee from the ground.

The same spirit that led men in earlier days to associate all good with the Cross, or to dedicate a herb of marked medicinal efficacy either to God or to the holy patron of the particular complaint to which it afforded an alleviation, was shown as late as the sixteenth century in the names given by still Catholic peoples to the newly discovered Tobacco plant. It was not placed, as some would now wish it were, among the Devil's weeds any more than Hops and Vines have been, but grateful to God for having revealed to them not only a vulnerary in pharmacy, but a source of soothing in daily life, they named it the *Herva sancta*, *Erba Sancta Croce*, *Kraut des Heiligenkreuzes*, *Heilig-Wundkraut*, *L'herbe sacrée propre à tous maux*, and the like: titles which must sound almost profanities to the Anti-tobacco leagues and other believers in King James' "Counterblast."

There is a species of *Silene* or Catchfly, known in the Balearic Isles as the "Sinc Llagas" or Five Wounds, from which also it obtains its botanic name of *Silene quinquervulnera*; in Spain they speak of it as the *Carmelitilla* or the Little Carmelites, perhaps in relation to St. Theresa, whose devotion to the Sacred Wounds was so profound; in the Philippine Islands the Spanish settlers named the *Eranthemum (bicolor)* *Cinco Llagas de Cristo Nuestro Señor*, and they have the pretty saying about it that God created the plant as the poor man's gold dust. In the same islands the *Gendarusa (vulgaris)* is called *Yerba de las Cinco Llagas*, and perhaps this is identical with the delicate, pure, white-petalled *Justicia gendarusa*, which resembles our white *Anemone*, only that it is a more striking flower and has one of its five petals splashed with a crimson stain. The name no doubt is also applied to other species of *Justicia*, especially those with scarlet flowers and variegated leaves, for these are known as the *Stigmata* of St. Francis, and the missionary fathers of that order might well have so named them, taking the thoughts of their converts away from their Pacific islands to the *Anemone* fields of Palestine trodden by the King of Saints and Martyrs, as well as to the Seraphic disciple whom He inspired. The flower we call the Garden

Nasturtium (*Tropaeolum majus*), whose rich bold masses of color are to be found in most gardens, is another Franciscan bloom; in form the blossom of most species reminded men of the hood worn by Capuchin monks, so that the name of Capuchin Cress is most usual for it upon the Continent of Europe. Its great clots of purple red or scarlet seemed like earth giving back in blossom the Blood that fell from the wounded Saviour, and thus we find such titles for it as "Xiuri delle Passioni," or Flowers of the Passion, in Sicily, Llagas de Cristo in Spain, or the memory of them reproduced on the person of St. Francis.

Not only did men thus make their gardens to speak to them by their fair blossoms as they went about their daily toil, but they united with this leaf or that root some sacred association by reason of its medicinal virtue, and in this and other ways they gave vent to the deep sincerity of their contemplation of the Passion, and in their overflowing fervor lavished upon things around them the extreme unction of their affection and devotion to Our Lord. There are many plants in which they found memorials of the Nail-pierced Hands, those well-springs of mercy and grace. It must have been in the curative qualities of the Yarrow (*Achillea*) that they recognized the touch of the Great Physician naming it, as they do in Austria, Gotteshand, since neither root nor feathery leaf serve as an emblem. There are also more that speak of the Feet of Our Blessed Lord, which had, as it were, their traces marked along the highways and across the meadows of this earth of ours. As the prayer in the Devotion to the Five Wounds says, "Thou wast wearied in overtaking me on the way to ruin, and didst bleed among the thorns and brambles of my sins," so men seem to have piously united with Creeping Cinquefoil (*Potentilla*), Birds-foot Trefoil (*Lotus corniculata*) or fragrant Ground Ivy (*Nepeta*) the memory of those wellsprings of Pity and Comfort.

The Heart of Our Blessed Lord is the Fifth and Central emblem to be seen on all representations in ecclesiastical art of the Sacred Wounds, and of this, too, we may discover memorials among the flowers. A most striking reminder is that in a plant to be found in most old gardens in England, viz., the *Dicentra spectabilis*. It is of the Fumitory family, and suspended upon its slender stalk hang in succession a series of lovely flowers like pendant hearts, either red or white. The white ones are known in Italy as Cuore di Maria, the red ones in England as "the Bleeding Heart." This English name is also given to the reddish-brown Wallflower, and a study of ancient folk-names usually proves that what seem to be trivial titles have really been seriously chosen. We find the Wallflower also known as Care-flower in the North of England, which has usually been



deemed to be a corruption of its Latin name *Cheiranthus*, but since Care-week and Carling Sunday are also names existing for Passion Week and Sunday, derived from the same source as the German Char-freytag for Good Friday, there can be little doubt that it refers to the time of year when the plant appears. The French title for the Wallflower of Quarantaine or Lent adds confirmation to this. "The Bleeding Heart" was perpetuated long after its meaning was forgotten by its use as an inn-sign, continuing on from days when these were sacred emblems, just as we still have The Salutation Tavern, The Seven Stars, The Three Crowns or Kings, etc. Larwood, in his "History of Signboards," speaking of this says: "From that period [viz., pre-Reformation times] also dates the sign of the 'Bleeding Heart,' the emblematical representation of the five sorrowful mysteries of the Rosary—viz., the heart of the Holy Virgin pierced with five swords. There is still an ale-house of this name in Charles street, Hatton Garden, and Bleeding-Heart-Yard, adjoining the public house, is immortalized in *Little Dorrit*. The 'Wounded Heart,' one of the signs in Norwich in 1750, had the same meaning. The Heart was a constant emblem of the Holy Virgin in the Middle Ages. Thus on the Clog almanacs all the feasts of St. Mary were indicated by a heart. It was not an uncommon sign in former times." Thus a name which at first sight seemed carelessly bestowed proves to have once had a singularly tender and serious meaning for Catholic lips.

Another pretty floral emblem is the slender twining perennial known as German Ivy (*Mikania*), which in parts of Germany is known as The Heart of Jesus—Herz-Jesu-pflanzé—while in far off Brazil it bears the name of Coração de Jesu. It is, we believe, a native of Northern America, but its foliage-form and its small flesh-colored flowers have led to its being enlisted by Catholic eyes among the sacred flora. The lowly weed known popularly as the Shepherd's Burse (*Thlaspi*) has not been too humble or insignificant to serve as a monitor of such thought as the Saviour's riven Side should evoke. We find traces of this in a name still remaining in vogue for it in Denmark, where they speak of it as Vor Herres lovet-yerter, or Our Lord's loving Heart; its small heart-shaped seed-vessels must have attracted every one who has lived in the country side, and if the little shells be bursting they have entirely an appearance as if rent asunder by a lance or spear.

There is one flower that contains within itself so complete a compendium of the Story of the Cross that it has taken to itself, since it became popularly known, the almost exclusive title of The Passion flower. There are now more than a hundred different kinds, the original one introduced into Europe being no doubt the *Passi-*

*flora incarnata*, and although this species is seldom met with in our gardens, yet it is that in which the semblance of parts of the flower to the instruments of Our Blessed Lord's Passion was first observed. Monardes (1593) was the first to call attention to this peculiarity. Parkinson called it the "surpassing delight of all flowers," but is very severe upon the "superstitious Jesuits" who ventured to suggest the symbolism; this, however, was worthy of the Herbalist to Queen Elizabeth! The poet Rapin, like many another poet, found this flower "too suggestive a theme to pass unmoved."

Flos alte incisus, crispato margine frondes,  
 Caule in sublimi vallo praetendit acuto;  
 Spinarum in morem patiens, O Christe Tuarum;  
 Inscriptus foliis summa instrumenta dolorum  
 Nam surgens flore e medio capita alta tricuspis,  
 Sursum tollit apex clavos imitatus aduncos.

The unknown author of the Portuguese poem entitled "Caramaru" (Canto vii., 39) is even more precise in his indications, for in some lines (the translation of which we owe to Dr. Welwitsch) he not only points out the similitudes of the other parts of the flower, but also sees in the red spots with which the "Column" is marked the analogue of the Saviour's Blood.

All Christendom seems to have endorsed the views of Monardes and they have now become a recognized portion of the folklore of the Christian world. It might well be regarded as a precious gift to Europe, for it was looked upon as the pride of South and Central America and the West Indies; there the woods are filled with varying species of the delightful climber, which reaches from tree to tree, at one time abounding in blossoms of the most striking beauty and at others with fruit tempting to the eye and refreshing to the palate. For upon some, such as the *Passiflora edulis*, *laurifolia*, *quadrangularis* or *Granadilla*, a most delectable fruit is to be found, the succulent pulp surrounding the seeds being fragrant, cooling and pleasant, with an agreeable acidity which is most grateful in a hot climate for the allaying of thirst. Its emblematic teaching can, therefore, scarcely be considered to be exhausted when we record the memorials of the Passion which have been seen in the various parts of its flower and stem. A writer in the *Gardener's Chronicle* for 1870 (p. 1409) speaking of these says: It may well puzzle us to find all the emblems enumerated, but as the flower hangs down and we look up to it "the three stigmas at the top of the column form three arms of the Cross, and the supporting column, when seen under the centre one, certainly gives the Cross. The rays of glory in this plant have nothing like them in the world of flowers with which we are acquainted. I counted the filaments of a purple Passion flower

and it had more than a hundred spear points, and each filament was parti-colored of at least three different hues. . . . The five stamens have a conspicuous place in the flower, and as there are said to have been only four nails and five wounds, the stamens would stand for the wounds and not for the nails. In one of the Passion flowers now before me the Column, stamens and stigmas are all spotted with irregular red blotches, those at the base of the Column being on a white ground are most conspicuous. There are only five petals to the corolla, and only five segments to the calyx, so that the number ten, so deftly put in by an enemy to make the ten Apostles, is nowhere to be seen." But this writer is evidently ill-informed in several respects, for the figure of the Cross is not usually read in this flower, and in the species *caerulea* and others there are ten petals, which are said to number the Apostolic band without Judas who betrayed and Peter who denied the Saviour. The central column has been associated with the Pillar of Scourging, which in one variety at least (*elata*) is sprinkled with stains as described by the writer above. The filamentous appendages upon the plant's stem readily suggest the Cords that bound the Sacred Hands and the thongs of the Whip of Flagellation; the five stamens with their curious anthers at the end are easily recognizable as hammers, but others see in them the more touching memorial of the Five Wounds, which the shape of the anthers recalls with singular vividness; the three stigmas are even more easily identified with the three nails; the gloriously rainbow-hued radiance is the Nimbus about the Sacred Head, or else a glorified Crown of Thorns, while others saw the lance-head in the shape of each leaflet, the sponge upon the top of the column, and as if pointing to the three years' ministry and three days in the grave, they say the flower only remains open for three days and then begins to die.

Even to us in this hard, unpoetical age, the Passion-flower always excites an interest, and it is not difficult to imagine the rapture with which the early missionaries to Mexico must have regarded it when they saw the meaning of these lovely flowers. Laboring in that beautiful land among races steeped in cruel and degrading idolatry they doubtless often had felt a craving of heart for some of those soothing and affectionate signs of the religion of the Cross which they had left behind them in their native land of Spain; their bare adobe stations had scarcely the needful furniture and vesture for their sacred ministry at the Altar, and were without any of the refinements of Christian art or music to give solace in hours of depression and weariness. Yet all the time in the woods and forests about them the God of Nature had not left Himself without a witness, and through the long centuries this flower had been waiting the coming



of His ambassadors to unfold its symbolism. Far surpassing all human art, the product of no human brain, inimitable to mortal skill, this Heaven-sent gift came to those first missionaries bearing within it the Story of the Cross and revealing as they gazed into its delicate structure signs which piety interpreted as typical of all they loved most. Taking this blossom in their hand they could make their meditations from its teaching as well as if they were aided by picture or sculpture in one of their glorious cathedrals of Spain, while here was an ever ready sermon for their converts whereby to rivet in their minds the Atoning Sacrifice of Calvary.

The Passion-flower has won for itself a position in modern ecclesiastical art to which it is entirely entitled; indeed so exclusively does it seem to have absorbed the narrow imagination of modern craftsmen that it not only has excluded from their use many an old floral symbol, but also has stayed their search for any fresh ones suitable for sculpture, the graphic arts or textile embroidery. We would like to have seen what such men as designed the glorious Rose windows of Chartres or Rheims would have made of the Passion-flower. If the mediæval artist could leave us embodied in stone such marvelously exquisite examples of tracery as he did in these Rose and Marygold windows, what beauty he would have bequeathed us from the Passion-flower. The common parrot-cry against modern ecclesiastical Gothic work is only true in one sense, and that not the one its employers mean or can possibly understand. It is not true in the sense of either its inferiority of construction in the hands of our best men, or its unsuitability to this or any other time, but it is true in its being without the permeating Faith that prompted the imagination and suggested the utility of each and every part, and also in its dependence upon geometrical exactitude instead of upon the trained hand and eye for proportion and relief.

It has often been said that a great Cathedral of ancient days was a national epic in stone, and that is true, but not only the great churches, but every village church, was full of local history and legend. And it should be so again. The sacred flora that is found in its fields, the birds of pious story that flit about its rooftops, references to local tradition or absorbing national event, all these should be sought out by the architect who is an artist to bring a human interest and relief into his capitals, bosses and decoration. The old architects were like Fairies going about this old world of ours, raising their fascinating embodiments of dreams, and bringing with them much quaint imagery and lively fancy into the lives of the people. Like the Fairies they seem to have departed, as a race, with the old Faith of Christendom, for as the Protestant Bishop Corbet (1648) says:

The Fairies  
Were of the old profession;  
Their songs were Ave Marias,  
Their dances were procession.  
But now, alas! they all are dead,  
Or gone beyond the seas,  
Or, further, for religion fled,  
Or else they take their ease.

Let us hope that the Church Architects are only taking their ease, and will yet come back to us, perhaps from oversea!

The Church has a Flora of her own, just as she has a language of her own, and in the same way as she has set apart and stamped with her approval certain of her children as exemplary models of piety for us to study, so may we say in a certain sense she has selected in every land types and emblems of her doctrine and teaching among the "grass of the field." In early days popular acclaim beatified many a saint, and this consensus of opinion has usually been authoritatively accepted. "There is a foundation, not arbitrary, for all the different languages in which different nations and kinds of men express the common thoughts of a common humanity, so there is a foundation, not arbitrary, for the sacred meanings and associations primitive and religious minds have found in flowers and herbs; consequently sacred art should use the symbolism of flowers, not ignorantly, but with reverent attention to the real tradition of the subject." If the dedications be only those of a writer's pretty fancy then they can have no claim upon the minds of Catholics as a body, but when they are those that are found to exist in the folklore of a country, often of an antiquity so great that it is impossible to say when they originated, then they come to us with an authority equal to every other recognized type or emblem whether it be in language or art. It is strangely true that if, like the Passion-flower in Europe, the sacred flora were composed of rare and pampered foreign plants that then artists of all kinds would be far more ready to employ its significance. They want exotics and fine garden and greenhouse flowers to evoke their admiration. It is because we are blind that we see no beauty in the creeping Crowfoot, the farmer's pest, but whose leaf and flower and dedication should be the artist's joy. Only common and vulgar weeds! Why hasn't the wayside Plantain inspired the artist who sculptured the capitals of the choir of Vézelay, those of the gallery of the choir of Nôtre Dame in Paris, those of Montreale, as well as countless other examples to be seen strewn throughout England as well? It is not to a book of designs that the Church artist should go for his decoration, but to Nature, and gather from her daintily dight and joyous fields those herbs that christened eyes have for ages held especially to speak of God and His blissful Maiden Mother Mary. "All art, pictorial, sculptural, decorative or what not, is only noble and worthy of the name so far as it affords

food for thought to the spectator and testifies to the thought of the artist, and the nobility of the work is in direct proportion to such evidence of inner life." There is in every department of natural history plenty of material ready at hand to suggest motives of design, material that would not only be congruous to the place or subject, but prove of lively interest to the beholder. When once we realize that an artist has a purpose and meaning in all his work we immediately find our intelligence awakened to discover what it may be. If in the sculptured capitals, bosses and string courses we saw more than the wearily reiterated vine and corn, lily and rose, our curiosity would be aroused to fathom the artist's intention; and if we then learn that there be an authoritative reason for the use of this plant or that bird, and not the private fancy of the designer, our minds feel a sincere delight so that the work affords us an entirely fresh source of mental pleasure. Of course not all the plants to be found in the Sacred Flora are suitable for sculpture, while probably all would be for painting or the arts akin thereto, but there are plenty that are, especially with regard to events in the Life of Our Blessed Lord and His Holy Mother; the writer of this paper published last year "*The Flora of the Sacred Nativity*,"\* extending to the Flight into Egypt, and found sufficient material to necessitate his confining this period alone to one volume. It is a Flora far less known than that of the Passion, of which many dedications continue to be familiar in every land, and the great number of exquisite motives that the flowers therein suggest to the religious designer or gardener excited the surprise of most people.

It is not only for the worker in religious art that we commend a study of the Christian Flora, but also to all who care to make their gardens what the old herbalist Parkinson calls his "*Paradisus*," viz., a "*speaking garden*," one wherein each tree, shrub and flower is connected with Christian legend and tradition. It is certainly fitting and appropriate that at least such a system should be adopted in the forming the gardens of religious houses, and in the planting of churchyards. Convent gardens should be the prompters of meditation; and if there be a school connected then there is nothing so helpful to enlist young minds and attract young eyes as a flower that possesses a history attaching to it. The Aspen's quivering leaf, the dark stains upon the Arum or Persicary, the pure white or crimson hearts of the Dicentra, even the sting of the Nettle will they not speak a new language to us all? We have strangely neglected the use of natural history in education, and we little appreciate how easily we might illustrate from the herb of the field the deepest mysteries of our religion. The Book of Nature is one of God's

---

\*Published by Kegan Paul & Co., London.



Bibles, His Green Book, not to be read alone but in order of witness; one not to be read in the turmoil of city life, but in that peaceful calm out of which imagination may wing its flight. "Although we cannot attain to God by sense," St. Thomas has said, "yet by sensible signs our mind is roused to tend to God."

ALFRED E. P. RAYMUND DOWLING, B. A., Oxon.

London.

## ATTITUDE OF THE JESUITS IN THE TRIALS FOR WITCHCRAFT.

### I. BEGINNINGS OF WITCH PERSECUTION.

IN the whole history of the human race there is scarcely anything more gloomy and more saddening than the trials for witchcraft and the wholesale execution of supposed witches. It is indeed humiliating to think that the so-called civilized world for centuries was enslaved by a fatal belief which surrendered thousands of innocent victims to frightful tortures and a horrible death. We find instances of trials for witchcraft during the Middle Ages, but they are relatively rare until the end of the fourteenth century. Then they became more and more numerous; and about 1450 the *systematic* persecution of witches was in full swing, particularly in the Alps, whence it spread like a fierce epidemic over France and Germany.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, these sad proceedings were at first carried on chiefly by the Inquisitors. They accepted the most absurd popular beliefs as a reality. Especially two Dominicans, the Inquisitors Institoris and Sprenger, became notorious for their credulity and blind zeal in extending the trials for witchcraft over Germany. When several bishops opposed them, they appealed to Rome. Pope Innocent VIII., acting on their uncritical and misleading informations, issued in 1484 the Bull *Summis desiderantes*, commonly styled the "Witchcraft Bull." It proved most disastrous, as it furnished the Inquisitors and other persecutors of the witches with a Papal document with which they could justify their cruel measures.<sup>2</sup> A

<sup>1</sup> See especially Hansen: "Zauberwahn, Inquisition und Hexen-Prozess im Mittelalter." Munich and Leipsic, 1900. This book is based on a false supposition in denying the existence of evil spirits, and consequently leads to wrong conclusions. However, as a distinguished Catholic scholar writes: "It proves that in the matter of witchcraft the one-sided *a priori* treatment of the scholastics was fatal; and it would be well if the book were studied by Professors of Philosophy and Theology." Based on Hansen's work and of a similar character is the article of Dr. Joseph Kaufmann, "Die Vorgeschichte der Zauber- und Hexenprozesse," in the "Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum, Geschichte und Deutsche Litteratur," 1901, Heft 4, pp. 283-306; Heft 5, pp. 335-352.

<sup>2</sup> It is evident that this Bull is in no way an *ex-cathedra* decision. Döllinger contended that it was such, but even the Protestant Professor Hinschius, of Berlin ("System des Katholischen Kirchenrechtes VI.," Berlin, 1897, p. 402), says that Döllinger "goes too far when he designates this Bull as an *ex-cathedra* utterance of the Pope; for neither the contents nor the occasion on which it was issued warrant such an assumption."

few years after the publication of this Bull, the two aforesaid Inquisitors wrote conjointly the *Malleus maleficarum*, or "Witch-hammer," a book full of startling and horrible stories. In this work most rigorous measures against the witches are advocated, and later zealots for the persecution of witches based their arguments chiefly on this publication.

However, it was not until after the outbreak of the Protestant Reformation that the persecution reached its full height. The religious and social disturbances that followed this movement, and above all the teaching of some of the Reformers, contributed much to the increase of the belief in witchcraft, and this belief added fuel to the persecution. In the catechism of Luther the power ascribed to the devil over man's body and soul, life and property, amounts almost to omnipotence. Luther sees devils everywhere and in everything; "man is the devil's slave and wills and does only what his master bids him." The friends and followers of Luther shared these views fully, and it was soon noticed, according to the testimony of Protestant contemporaries, "that the preachers spoke more of the devil than of Christ, and that old and young believed more in the devil than in God and His holy Gospel."<sup>3</sup>

We cannot be surprised, therefore, to learn that soon after the Reformation the trials for witchcraft were carried on with renewed vigor. In many countries and districts persecutions of witches are heard of only after the introduction of the new doctrine. Even after the excitement had abated in Europe, Puritan New England saw the hanging of witches at Salem.<sup>4</sup> On the whole it is impossible to decide whether more victims suffered in Catholic or Protestant countries.

Since 1520 the secular power took the persecution of witches into its hands.<sup>5</sup> The excitement reached its highest pitch between 1570 and 1640. During this period the human mind seemed to have lost its balance. Diseases, fire, famine, storms and hail, wars, great wealth and losses, disappointment in love, striking beauty and remarkable ugliness, extraordinary knowledge and excessive stupidity, melancholy and mirth, all were ascribed to the influence of the devil. If a person was negligent in his religious duties, it was a sure sign that he had bartered his soul to the devil; if he was very pious, he was suspected of hypocrisy, in order to conceal his dealings with the evil one. Under the frightful pains of the torture the names of ever

<sup>3</sup> Diefenbach, "Der Zauberglaube des 16. Jahrhunderts," pp. 12-24; further details in Janssen-Pastor, "History of the German People," Vols. 7 and 8. Luther wrote: "With witches I would have no mercy; I would rather burn them myself." "Many devils are around us that might kill us any hour." Kaufmann in "Neue Jahrbücher," pp. 286-292. On Luther's belief in *incubus* and *succubus*, see the same author, p. 304.

<sup>4</sup> See Bancroft, "History of the United States," Vol. III., ch. 19.

<sup>5</sup> Hansen, l. c., p. 524.

new witches were revealed; no one was safe; children of tender age were tortured; they frequently denounced their parents; parents testified against their children. No rank was secure against accusation; Mayors of cities, priests and religious were denounced and executed. But we cannot dwell on these horrible scenes. They may be read in special works on this subject, or in Janssen's "History of the German People" (Vol. VIII.).

## II. DIFFERENT VIEWS AS TO THE ATTITUDE OF THE JESUITS.

During the most violent period of the persecution for witchcraft the Jesuits exerted a powerful influence as professors of philosophy, dogmatic and moral theology, as writers, as confessors and preachers at the courts of Princes. Consequently they had to take attitude towards this persecution, and it is evident that their verdict for or against the trials was of the greatest weight. For the last few years a warm controversy on this very point has been going on in Germany, chiefly between Professor Riezler, of Munich, and the Jesuit Father Duhr. We intend to give the results of the controversy in the present paper. Father Duhr laid down his contentions in a number of articles in the "Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie" (1900 and 1901), the "Historisches Jahrbuch" (Munich, 1900), in the pamphlet "Attitude of the Jesuits in the Trials for Witchcraft in Germany" and "The Biography of Frederick Spe."<sup>6</sup> In the preface to his first work Father Duhr says that "the attitude of the Jesuits in the trials for witchcraft has sometimes been painted too favorably for one-sided apologetical purposes, sometimes too darkly from a one-sided hostile tendency." Indeed we can find the statement in Catholic works that the Jesuits were a glorious exception in that excited age, and manfully opposed the mad fury of the persecutors of the innocent. On the other hand, they are charged by some historians with having fanned the flame of that disastrous conflagration. One writer went even further. "The ablest of the historians on witchcraft (Soldan-Heppe) has charged their order with using witch persecution as a cloak for the punishment of heresy, and seeking to burn as witches those whom, under the law of the Empire, they could

<sup>6</sup> "Stellung der Jesuiten in den deutschen Hexenprozessen," Cologne, 1900. "Frederick Spe," von Johannes Diel, S. J. Zweite, ungearbeitete Auflage Freiburg, Herder, 1901. We have also used several other works: Janssen-Pastor, "History of the German People," Vol. VIII.; Diefenbach, "Der Zauberglaube des 16. Jahrhunderts nach den Katechismen Dr. Martin Luthers und des P. Canisius," Mainz, 1900; "The Fate of Dietrich Flade," Putnam's Sons, New York, 1891. By Professor Burr, of Cornell University; reprinted from the papers of the "American Historical Association," Vol. V., No. 3, July, 1891. Professor Burr is considered one of the first authorities on the subject of witchcraft and is highly spoken of by German scholars. Thus Professor Pastor, in Janssen's "History of the German People," Vol. VIII., p. 583, speaks of "the American George L. Burr, to whom all students of the history of witchcraft are deeply indebted." Professor Burr's publication on Dietrich Flade is a model of accurate historical research.



no longer burn as heretics; and he bases this charge largely on the history of the persecution at Trier." So far Professor Burr, of Cornell University; but he adds: "After a careful study of the documents left us, I find as yet no reason to share his view."<sup>7</sup> The severest charge is made against several distinguished Jesuit theologians, especially Delrio, Gregory de Valentia and Laymann, and against the preachers at the courts of Princes.<sup>8</sup> What is the truth concerning the attitude of the Jesuits?

Before we examine the historical evidence bearing on this question it will be well to make a few preliminary remarks. There undoubtedly exists, what the Germans call *Zeitgeist*, a spirit of the age, which affects all, for good or ill, which influences theologians as well as others, and even the supreme rulers of the Church in their private opinions and decisions which do not possess the character of *ex-cathedra* definitions. It is unfair and narrow-minded to look down with superciliousness on those who have gone before us, because they held many opinions which are now rejected by all enlightened minds. We must endeavor to judge men by the circumstances in which they lived. However, this cannot prevent us from deploring the existence of some of their opinions and the disastrous results to which they led. It cannot be denied that the credulity of mediæval chroniclers and the lack of historical criticism on the part of great theologians of former ages was, to say the least, a most unfortunate feature; and in a matter of practical consequences, like that of witchcraft, it has proved extremely disastrous. That many theologians were at fault in these sad proceedings cannot be denied. We know this from a witness whose testimony is unimpeachable: the Jesuit Father Spe, the noble champion of the victims. He asks in his famous *Cautio Criminalis*:<sup>9</sup> "Who are they who spur the authorities on to new executions?" He divides them into four classes. "First, some theologians and prelates who are devoted to their studies and enjoy peace and tranquility in their study rooms. They have not the slightest idea of what is going on outside, no idea of the filth of the prisons, of the rack, of the cries and sorrows of the poor victims. To visit the prisons, to speak to the poor sufferers and to condescend to listen to their complaints, would be against their dignity and would disturb their studies. To this class I add certain holy and pious men, who, totally ignorant of the reality of things, consider all inquisitors and judges in these trials as saints. These pious men deem it criminal not to venerate all the sentences of these

<sup>7</sup> "Fate of Dietrich Flade," p. 52.

<sup>8</sup> See "Historische Zeitschrift," 1900, Vol. LXXXIV. There it is said that "the Jesuits are not as guilty of the horrors of witch persecution as the Dominicans, and on the whole not more guilty than the Protestant clergy," p. 249. We do not intend in any way to incriminate the Dominicans, but merely quote the statements of historians, without endorsing every detail.

<sup>9</sup> "Dubium" 15

judges as infallible. When such good people read certain stories, no matter how silly, or hear of the confessions forced from the victims by torture, they regard them as gospel truth, and allow themselves to be carried away by zeal, rather than be ruled by discretion. They cry out: such crimes must not be tolerated, the world is full of witches, the authorities must proceed against this pest with all diligence, etc. Oh, these good and holy men! What can you do with them, as they wish only the best? If they knew how much wickedness and imprudence prevail in these trials, they would exclaim with Christ: 'Let both grow until the day of the harvest.' But now these good people are incapable of enlightenment."

"The second class is made up of jurists, who find these trials a profitable business. On a sudden they have become pious and frighten the authorities, who are tardy in proceeding against the witches. To the third class belong those who seek to gratify their jealousy, enmity and vengeance. If the authorities do not listen to the mob, they clamor that the judges are afraid for themselves or their families, or are bribed by the rich, as charges of witchcraft can be made against members of even the wealthiest families. Unfortunately, there are priests and religious who, instead of checking, foster such clamorings. To the fourth class belong malefactors, who, in order to conceal their own crimes, most zealously demand the punishment of witches. Among these malefactors I reckon even those inquisitors who wanted to torture Father Tanner."<sup>10</sup>

This candid statement proves that not a few priests, religious and secular, were carried away by the credulity and mad excitement of the age, and actually added fuel to the fire. Now can it reasonably be expected that the Jesuits were so far ahead of their time, so enlightened, so free from the *Zeitgeist*, that none of them should have shared the all-prevailing superstition? It would be a miracle. The Jesuits were children of their age and acted accordingly. Indeed, there were Jesuits who advocated severe measures against the witches; but on the other hand we find among them noble champions of the innocent victims, especially the most strenuous opponent of that atrocious persecution, the brave Father Frederick Spe.

### III. ATTITUDE OF THE EARLY JESUITS.

"The order as such never assumed any official attitude towards the persecution. The name of wizard or witch is not to be found either in the constitutions of the order or in the decrees of the Generals; nor is there even mention of possession and exorcism. As regards the Inquisition, the order asked and obtained special

---

<sup>10</sup> Duhr, "Stellung," p. 15. "Spe," pp. 76-77.

Papal privileges (1584), to the effect that its members should never be forced to accept the offices of the Inquisition. The order thought that the office of Inquisitor was not in accordance with the spirit of its constitutions."<sup>11</sup>

The first companion of St. Ignatius, Father Peter Faber, acted according to this spirit of the Society. When he heard that a Jesuit in Louvain occupied himself with exorcisms, he wrote in 1545: "I cannot approve of these exorcisms. The Father should know that they are open to many deceptions. He ought to expel the devil from the *souls* of men, as this is the office of priests, and should leave it to the exorcists to perform their work."<sup>12</sup> Father Faber's disciple, Peter Canisius, was not so reserved in this matter. Owing probably to his study of mysticism in early youth, he was inclined to follow the course disapproved by his master, Peter Faber. Father Paul Hoffaeus, vice provincial of the province of the Upper Rhine, writes, in 1569, to the General of the Society, Francis Borgia: "Father Canisius must be warned not to meddle so much in cases of possessed persons, and not to create difficulties for us; much time is wasted, and the proceedings are not according to our mode of acting." Determined as he was in other matters, Father Hoffaeus was also resolute and fearless in this. He told Father Borgia that members of the noble house of the Fuggers had taken two possessed girls to Rome and Loretto, in order to find relief for the girls. The Fuggers wanted Father Wendelin Volk as companion; but the General should not allow it under any condition, for "there is a great deal of credulity in all this. It is said that they learned from a revelation or from an utterance of the evil spirit, that whoever would prevent Father Wendelin from accompanying them, would meet with a severe corporal affliction. I, for my part, am not afraid of anything." In 1570 Canisius was warned by the General: "He should not lose a single hour with the possessed, as such an occupation was alien to the institute of the Society and liable to hinder more useful work."<sup>13</sup>

In another line Peter Canisius showed himself much more prudent; namely, in his catechisms. It has been said, and not without reason, that Luther's catechism did very much to spread the belief in witchcraft. In his Greater Catechism the name of the devil occurs sixty-seven times, that of Christ sixty-three times.<sup>14</sup> But of still greater importance is the *influence* ascribed to the devil. The evil one does great harm to the bodies of men, kills many, is the cause of wars, storms, plagues, etc.<sup>15</sup> As early as 1568 more than

<sup>11</sup> Duhr, "Stellung," p. 22.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid, p. 23.

<sup>13</sup> Documents in Duhr, "Stellung," pp. 24-25.

<sup>14</sup> Diefenbach, l. c., p. 5.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid, p. 7.



100,000 copies of this catechism were scattered all over Germany.<sup>16</sup> Even in Catholic districts many agitators, teachers and priests who secretly adhered to Luther's tenets, spread his catechism and his doctrines. In a letter to Duke Albert V. of Bavaria, Peter Canisius deplores the fact that in many Catholic cities the teachers are not Catholics, but adherents of the Reformation, and instruct the young in the heresy of Luther.<sup>17</sup> May not Luther's teaching of the all-powerful devil have caused the spread of the belief in witchcraft, even in Catholic countries? Professor Riezler himself admits that before 1591 scarcely a single witch was burnt in Bavaria, and in the Electorate of Trier and the bishopric of Bamberg the persecution of witches began only after the spread of Protestantism.<sup>18</sup>

Widely different are the famous catechisms of Peter Canisius from those of Luther. Professor Riezler renders the smaller catechism, intended for the people, the favorable testimony that it makes no particular mention of witchcraft. He says: "Luther's catechism, in the explanation of the first commandment, mentions the objects and effects of the league with the devil in detail, although not exhaustively, whereas the large Roman catechism, written at the bidding of the Council of Trent, and the smaller catechism of Canisius, intended for the people, do not even mention the word witchcraft."<sup>19</sup> In fact, in the smaller catechism of Canisius the name of Christ occurs six times, that of the devil not once. The middle catechism has the name of Christ thirty-two times, that of "Satan"—for he always uses this word, not the more popular word "devil"—three times; the large catechism contains the name of Christ one hundred and three times, that of Satan only ten times.<sup>20</sup> In Luther's large catechism we found the very opposite proportion. But not only in the number of times in which the names are mentioned does the catechism of Canisius favorably differ from that of Luther, but more so in the power ascribed to the evil one. Luther dwells particularly on the devil's power over the body and the property of man. Canisius speaks of Satan only as the tempter to sin.

In 1583 a sensation was caused in Vienna by an exorcism performed on a girl. The Emperor ordered the bishop to have the girl exorcised. The bishop went to the college of the Jesuits and commanded, as far as he could, the rector to perform the task. At last the rector yielded and several fathers began the exorcism which lasted no less than eight weeks. This affair soon became the topic

<sup>16</sup> Ibid, p. 15.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid, p. 20. Braunsberger, S. J., "Epistolae B. P. Canisi," Vol. II., p. 269.

<sup>18</sup> Diefenbach, p. 211.—"There is every internal evidence that the case of Eva of Kenn (1572) was the first witch trial in its (Trier) region." Burr, l. c., p. 10, note. "In the Lutheran county of Sponheim, lying just east of Trier, and cutting the Electorate nearly in two, we hear, in 1573, of several witches imprisoned and tortured at the Wartelstein, near Kirn." Burr, ib., p. 10, note 3.

<sup>19</sup> Riezler, p. 129; quoted by Duhr, "Stellung," p. 75.

<sup>20</sup> Diefenbach, l. c., pp. 38-39.

of conversation, and so many misrepresentations were made that Father Scherer thought it necessary to deliver a special sermon "on the recent liberation of a girl who was possessed by 12,652 devils." Sacchini relates the story in his "*Historia Societatis Jesu*" (Pars. V., lib. 3, p. 125), and emphasizes the fact that the rector was simply forced. He expresses, however, no doubt as to the truth of the confessions made by the girl and her mother. Father Scherer accepts with perfect faith all the silly stories about witches and exhorts the Mayor and the City Council to prosecute witches and wizards, as it was God's will *ut tollatur malum de medio*. Not all the Jesuits approved of this sermon. The provincial of the Upper Rhine, Father Bader, writes to Father General Aquaviva, "that those fathers who at my bidding read the sermon, were of the opinion that it scarcely merited the 'imprimatur' of the Society. . . . I cannot understand how such unripe productions are published."<sup>21</sup>

#### IV. PROCEEDINGS AT TREVES.

Nowhere in Germany did the frenzy of witch persecution run so high as at Treves (Trier), one of the oldest towns in Germany, and indeed throughout the whole archdiocese. The highest officials, mayors, canons, deans, parish priests, chaplains, fell victims to the persecution. Woe to the priest who dared to raise his voice in defense of the accused; there was no surer sign of his own guilt than such pleading.<sup>22</sup> The trials at Treves have been treated with special interest by various historians.<sup>23</sup> The Jesuits were in various ways connected with the trials in Treves. Their Annual Reports for 1585 say: "Often have our priests been summoned to the witches, whose number here is very great, and have attended them even to the place of punishment; and through God's goodness it has been brought about that with great grief for their sins, they have died piously even amid the torments of the flames."<sup>24</sup>

In the same year, 1585, Father Gibbons, the rector of the Jesuit college at Treves, writes to Father Aquaviva: "Here and in the whole country around none of the witches—who are very numerous—are burnt without some of ours being called to instruct them and lead them back to Christ. The Archbishop sent us a boy of eight years who used to beat the drum at the nightly meetings of the witches. He knows all the arts of sorcery and has revealed many witches—one of whom was burnt five or six days ago. One night,

<sup>21</sup> Duhr, "*Stellung*," pp. 25-28.

<sup>22</sup> Janssen-Pastor, "*Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes*," Vol. VIII., p. 637.

<sup>23</sup> In the following we are indebted particularly to Professor Burr's extremely interesting publication. The author has examined the documents in Treves, especially the "*Litterae annuae*" (annual reports) of the Jesuits. In the *Stadt-Bibliothek* (City Library), which is in the old Jesuit College, there is a precious collection of nearly all the years from 1573 to 1590. See Burr, pp. 16, 17, note 3.

<sup>24</sup> Burr, l. c., p. 17.

while sitting as prisoner in the Archbishop's palace, he was visited by the devil, who carried him off through the air to an assembly of witches. There he was accused and scolded for having gone to the Jesuits, to which he answered he could not do otherwise."<sup>25</sup> The Archbishop had sent him to the Jesuits that he might be taught his catechism, for he was completely ignorant of Christian doctrine, and did not even know the Lord's Prayer.<sup>26</sup>

Father Thyraeus, rector of the College of Mentz, wrote to Father Aquaviva, in 1587, that "a boy was kept in the college at Treves who denounced many women. This could easily bring the college into bad repute. I have warned the rector, etc." To this the General replied that the boy should under no condition be left in the college. If he was to be instructed in catechism, this might be done in the Archbishop's palace or elsewhere.<sup>27</sup> Other Jesuits also must have written complaints to Rome about the conduct of their brethren in Treves. For in 1589 the General Aquaviva writes to the provincial superior: "We have heard that Ours in Treves seem to meddle too much with the trials of witches and urge the Prince to punish them. Your Reverence must forbid it and give the following instructions: It may be allowed to advise the Prince in general to apply a remedy against sorcery, which is said to be common in that region, and in given cases they may admonish the witches that, when questioned in court, they are bound in conscience to denounce their accomplices. For the rest, Ours should not meddle with the *forum externum*; further they should not urge the authorities to punish any one."<sup>28</sup>

In 1591 the provincial superior had again to write to the General Aquaviva: "In this college (of Treves), Father John Macherentius delivered some sermons in which he spoke rather sharply about the neglect of justice in regard to witches. The consequence was that the *tribus* (guilds) went to the Most Reverend Lord and asked that justice should be administered. I have warned Ours according to your directions, so that, as I hope, nothing of the kind will be attempted by them." Now it is not quite clear in which sense the "neglect of justice" is to be taken, whether the preacher claimed justice for the poor witches or urged the Archbishop to a more relentless persecution. Father Duhr thinks that the latter is meant, as the Jesuits of Treves had repeatedly been denounced to the General by their own brethren for having encouraged these proceedings.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Duhr, "Stellung," p. 31, from original documents kept in the archives of the German Jesuits.

<sup>26</sup> Burr, p. 17, who gives the same story from the "Litterae annuae."

<sup>27</sup> Duhr, "Stellung," p. 32.

<sup>28</sup> Duhr, "Stellung," p. 32. Latin text in Janssen-Pastor, VIII., p. 654.

<sup>29</sup> "Stellung," p. 34.



The trial which has acquired most fame is that of Dr. Dietrich Flade, the sad story of which is admirably told by Professor Burr.<sup>30</sup> Who was this Dietrich Flade? He had held the highest positions in Treves, as rector of the University, councillor to the Archbishop-Elector and Acting Governor (*Schultheiss*) of the city. His wealth was proverbial. The Jesuit Brouwer, who lived at the time in Treves, where he was for some time rector of the college and where he died in 1617, writes in his "Annales Trevirenses:" "By his civic zeal, and by his proved loyalty to his sovereign, he had earned the position of judge in the city; learned in public and private law, greatly valued for his counsels, he had won favor and fame as well among the Princes of the Empire and had gathered to himself riches."<sup>31</sup> As City Judge, Flade had himself pronounced sentence against some witches. However, he must not have been overzealous in such work; for Brouwer writes that "Flade heard his sentence from the very court whose severity he himself as judge had for many years restrained."<sup>32</sup>

In 1587 it was whispered that an attempt had been made to bewitch the Elector. A boy had confessed the plot. Johann Zandt von Merl, who had succeeded Flade as Governor of Treves, arrested the boy, brought him to Treves, where he was for a time quartered in the electoral palace, and then by order of the Archbishop brought to the Jesuit college. This boy denounced the Judge of the city, Dr. Flade, as a wizard, and said that the Judge had attempted to poison the Elector. The new Governor had a hand in this denunciation. A woman from a village under the jurisdiction of Zandt, and a month later a man from the same district, who had both been arrested for witchcraft, accused Flade of the same crime. Both witches were burnt. Zandt now started formal proceedings against Flade. He collected more evidence, and at last the confessions of a number of witches were laid before the appointed commission. The case of the sickly old man became desperate. He attempted flight, but was overtaken and brought back to Treves. Under the legal maxims of the day this flight went far to prove Flade's guilt. After a second attempt and a despairing appeal to the Elector, the unfortunate man was tortured. At first he remained firm, but by frequently repeated tortures the confession of his own guilt and the

<sup>30</sup> "Fate of Dietrich Flade." For a long time it was thought that the original acts of this famous trial were lost. They were discovered by Professor Burr. "Glancing through an old book catalogue, issued late in 1882 by Albert Cohn, of Berlin, my eye lit on the title of this manuscript (the minutes of Flade's trial). I laid it before President White (Dr. Andrew White, of Cornell), who at once, spite of an inaccuracy in the name, divined that it was the trial of Dr. Flade, whose case he knew well through his researches in this field. We ordered it forthwith, and were overjoyed both to secure it and to find it what we had hoped." Burr, p. 4. Since 1883 the manuscript is in the President White Library at Cornell University.

<sup>31</sup> Burr, p. 20.

<sup>32</sup> Burr, p. 43.

names of a number of accomplices were wrung from him. On the 18th of September, 1589, he was first strangled and his body then burned to ashes.<sup>33</sup>

On the morning of his execution, Flade was present at Mass and received the sacrament at the hands of the Jesuit Father Ellentz. This good Father had rendered much and faithful service as confessor of the witches. A pamphlet of the year 1603 says: "There is now no superstition as common and dangerous as the fear of witches. And it is to be wondered at that pious and merciful priests, especially those of the Society of Jesus, dare to go so much to the poor martyred witches in the prisons, to comfort them and to accompany them to the stake, as I have seen with my own eyes at Treves, where they spoke to the witches words of consolation in the name of Jesus Christ our Redeemer."<sup>34</sup> Father Ellentz spent whole nights with the victims in the filthy prisons. Shortly before his death, in 1607, he informed the provincial that he had accompanied at least two hundred of these unfortunate persons to the stake.<sup>35</sup> Similar reports were made of Fathers in Braunsberg, Ellwangen, Fulda, Paderborn, Speier, etc. In some places, as in Paderborn, the opinion was spread that those who had once sold their souls to the devil by compact, had no hope of salvation. The Jesuits did not share this view, but everywhere assisted the poor victims before death. In many cases they succeeded in liberating the condemned or accused persons.<sup>36</sup> We have ample testimony that this service of administering the last consolations of religion to witches was most dangerous, as the zealous priests themselves fell under the suspicion of witchcraft.

As we have heard, Soldan-Heppe has charged the Society with using the persecution of witches as a cloak for the punishment of heresy. He bases this charge largely on the history of the persecution at Treves. "Can we doubt that the great persecution for witchcraft which broke out at Treves in 1586 was in part only a continuation of the persecution of Protestantism, and was one of those means which the sagacity of the Jesuits had invented for accomplishing the task for which they had been called into the land?"<sup>37</sup> This is a most serious charge, but there is not a shadow of proof to substantiate it. Professor Burr says: "After a careful study of the documents left

---

<sup>33</sup> Burr, pp. 21-43.

<sup>34</sup> Janssen-Pastor, Vol. VIII., p. 641.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid. From "Litterae annuae" of 1607.

<sup>36</sup> Duhr, pp. 72-74.

<sup>37</sup> Soldan-Heppe, "Geschichte der Hexenprozesse," 1880, Vol. II., p. 37; quoted by Diefenbach, p. 85. Kaufmann ("Neue Jahrbücher," 1901, p. 286) considers it "a great fault of Soldan's work that he partisan-like inculpates the Catholic Church and attempts to exonerate the Protestant, whereas it is unfortunately an incontestable fact that countless Protestant preachers yielded nothing in blind fanaticism to Catholic priests, and in this faithfully adhered to the tradition of the old Church."

us, I find as yet no reason to share his view. The heretics were indeed not yet rooted out at Trier. Persecution for heresy went on side by side with persecution for witchcraft. It would have been strange, in sooth, if the two Satanic crimes were never associated in fervent minds; . . . but that this suspicion was actually felt, or that the Jesuits ever consciously confused the two crimes, I find scant evidence. . . . At all events, Dietrich Flade was no Protestant. . . . All his life he had been a leader of the Catholic party; and his most devoted friend till death was apparently his Jesuit confessor, Father Ellentz."<sup>38</sup>

The charge made by Soldan-Heppe has been repeated by various writers, quite recently by Pastor Längin, of Karlsruhe.<sup>39</sup> Professor Riezler had also spoken of a connection between the counter-reformation and the persecution for witchcraft. Attacked by Father Duhr on this point, he defined his position more accurately by stating "that he never maintained the existence of a *general* or *regular* connection between the Catholic restoration and witch persecution; but what he defended and still defends is, that in *certain territories* the counter-reformation and witch persecution went hand in hand."<sup>40</sup> To this Father Duhr answers: "Considering the harsh opinions held by some Jesuits, much was possible in single cases, therefore Riezler's latest statement cannot be rejected *a priori*."<sup>41</sup> But neither Professor Riezler nor any one else has furnished the least proof for the charge against the Jesuits that they ever used witch trials for persecuting Protestantism.

The Jesuits at Treves are evidently to be blamed, not only for their credulity in regard to witchcraft, a sentiment which they shared with nearly all their contemporaries, but especially for allowing themselves to be deceived by the ambitious and intriguing Governor Johann Zandt. Professor Burr remarks: "If it seems strange that men so subtle as the Jesuit Fathers could be played upon by the boy accomplices of Johann Zandt, one must remember that a Justus Lipsius (the famous archæologist and critic) was even then standing sponsor to the witch code of a Delrio."<sup>42</sup> The Jesuits of Coblenz and of Mentz did not approve the actions of their brethren at Treves. If it is asked whence this difference arose, it seems very probable that the latter were under the influence of their friend, the Coadjutor-Bishop Peter Binsfeld. This Bishop had studied in the Collegium Germanicum at Rome from 1570-76; thus he was a pupil

<sup>38</sup> Burr, pp. 52-53. Professor Burr's judgment is accepted also by E. P. Evans, in "Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung," Munich, 1893, No. 102.

<sup>39</sup> See Diefenbach, *passim*. Kaufmann, by no means partial to the Catholic Church, says that "Längin speaks rather as a Protestant theologian than as a historian." ("Neue Jahrbücher," 1901, p. 286.)

<sup>40</sup> "Historische Zeitschrift," 1900, I., 247.

<sup>41</sup> "Stellung," p. 77.

<sup>42</sup> Page 53.



of the Jesuits. In 1589 he published a book which had a disastrous influence on witch persecution. He strongly defended the credibility of the witch confessions. In his opinion: "The confessions of witches are either always or nearly always true." He casts strong suspicions on those who make themselves "advocates of the great evil," and he urges most strenuous proceedings against the witches, "who are nowhere to be tolerated, but to be extirpated entirely; such is the will of God."<sup>43</sup> In consequence of such principles the torture was used unsparingly, until all the confessions were extorted which the judges wanted. However deplorable the proceedings at Treves were, a remark of Professor Burr should not be overlooked: "It ought, in justice, to be added that, while the *Kursächsische Kriminalordnung* (1572) of Lutheran Saxony, and the *Kurpfälzisches Landrecht* (1582) of the Calvinist Palatinate, with the lesser Protestant codes based upon them, went beyond the Carolina<sup>44</sup> in making witchcraft, *even without material injury*, a capital crime when it involved dealings with the devil, Catholic Trier, spite of clerical and Jesuit influences, was from first to last, as to witchcraft, content to abide by the Caroline code."<sup>45</sup> We do not wish to examine how far this "spite of" is justified; one thing seems to be certain, that "clerical and Jesuit influences" succeeded in keeping the witch trials at least within legal bounds. As the work of Bishop Binsfeld has been mentioned, our attention is naturally called to works of Jesuit theologians who treated of witchcraft and its prosecution. We have to speak of some Jesuits who, unfortunately, shared too much the views of their times and, in their works, advocated energetic measures.

#### V. GREGORY DE VALENTIA AND MARTIN DELRIO.

In 1590 Duke William V. of Bavaria asked the theological and legal faculties of Ingolstadt for their opinion about the extirpation of witchcraft, which began to threaten Bavaria. Duke William was determined to adopt all means to overcome this evil. The verdict of the two faculties was to the following effect: "The judges should study the witch trials of the Bishoprics of Augsburg and Eichstädt, further the *Malleus maleficarum* and the book of Binsfeld; the Duke should make it a penal offense not to denounce every one suspected of witchcraft; the torture could be applied more promptly than in other trials." The judgment is signed by four jurists and four theologians. Among the latter are two Jesuits, Matthias Mairofer and Gregory of Valentia.

"Of the distinguished theologian, Gregory de Valentia, we possess

<sup>43</sup> See Burr, p. 12, seq. Duhr, "Stellung," pp. 29-30.

<sup>44</sup> The imperial code of Charles V., which provided that torture should be used.

<sup>45</sup> Page 11.

other utterances on this subject which do him no credit."<sup>46</sup> Born and educated in Spain, he taught philosophy in Rome and theology for twenty-four years at Dillingen and Ingolstadt, and was very influential at the court of Munich. In 1595 appeared his work on theology which gave him the name of one of the greatest theologians of the sixteenth century.<sup>47</sup> He treats on witchcraft in the third volume of his work.<sup>48</sup> The chapter bears the title: "On the Duty of Magistrates Concerning the Punishment of Witchcraft." The introduction says: "From the very outset it cannot be doubted that magistrates are strictly obliged to examine and punish witchcraft." He endeavors to prove this obligation from Scripture (Exodus xxii., Deuteronomy xiii., Romans xiii.). "Especial diligence is necessary when the evil prevails in the neighborhood. If the magistrates are careless, the evil can quickly assume immense proportions to the incredible detriment of individuals and the whole state. It will be most useful for the judges to examine the minutes of witch trials conducted in the neighborhood. Besides, it will be most beneficial to study books written on this subject, above all the *Malleus maleficarum* and the work of Peter Binsfeld on 'witch-confessions.' As this evil is of common occurrence and, on account of its gravity and difficulty, often causes trouble to the consciences of magistrates and judges, I wish to treat of a few points in detail.

1. How shall the judicial inquiry be conducted?

When it is thought that this evil exists in a certain locality, it is first of all expedient to make a *general* inquiry, and command all by public edict, and under a definite penalty, to denounce within a certain time what they know, what they have seen or heard. Then a *special* inquiry can be made by examining in particular those who have been denounced or are otherwise suspected, or by interrogating witnesses about such persons. But in order to conduct this special inquiry legally, some points must necessarily be observed. According to law, no one can be examined unless he is suspected of this offense, either on account of public *infamy* for this very crime, or on account of semi-sufficient evidence (*semiplenam probationem*), or on account of grave indications (*indicia*). The infamy must be based upon the opinion of several upright men. The semi-sufficient evidence exists when the incontrovertible testimony of one man, *omni exceptione maius*, is added to the deposition of the accuser or informer. The *indicia* must be such as can of themselves create the suspicion of this offense. . . .

<sup>46</sup> Duhr, "Stellung," p. 36.

<sup>47</sup> "Commentariorum Theologicorum Tomi Quattuor." The edition used is that of Lyons, 1603.

<sup>48</sup> Vol. III., columns 1615-1622. (Disput. VI., quaest. XIII., punctum quartum.) See also Duhr, "Stellung," pp. 37 seq.

2. How can witchcraft be recognized?

A witch can be recognized (1) from her own confession, if she admits the performance of acts pertaining to witchcraft; (2) from the confessions of those who are guilty of the same crime and have informed on others; (3) from the admitted possession of a writ which hands over the soul to the devil, after the person has renounced her faith in Christ; or from the impression of a certain mark (*stigma*) which is usually conferred on witches; (4) from the possession of certain poisons, sacred hosts, toads, human limbs, waxen figures pierced with needles; (5) from having been convicted of habitually invoking the devil; for having threatened evil to another, such as a disease or a certain spell that later on befell that person; (6) from the testimony of witnesses who saw the accused besmear animals, which afterwards died, with poison or a salve; for having done the same to children or others. These tests are given by Bodinus, Spina and Binsfeld. A prudent and diligent judge can add other signs,<sup>49</sup> especially from former witch trials and from the *Malleus maleficarum*.

But as witchcraft is practised secretly, the guilt of witches is more easily recognized from their own confession legitimately extorted by inquiry or by torture, or from the testimony of others, or, lastly, from the denunciation obtained by the use or threats of torture. However, torture is not to be employed unless several denounce the same person, or unless other evidence is added to the denunciation of one informer. In the trials the judges must abstain from the use of illicit means, such as false promises of immunity, if the accused should confess; from false statements, such as the assertion that the accused has been previously denounced by other witches; most of all from the so-called water test<sup>50</sup> or other superstitious means.

3. What are the signs and presumptions that suffice for imprisoning and torturing a person?

The above mentioned signs or tests are here enumerated.

4. How are persons to be denounced, arrested and punished?

Towards the end of this paragraph, Gregory says: "When the judicial process has been observed and the guilt according to law and custom sufficiently established, the sentence is pronounced. Such criminals are rightly condemned to death, according to canon law?"

What is the nature of the proceedings?

"First, the same method is to be followed as in other causes in which there is question of life and death: the accused is to be given an advocate. Secondly, whilst witches are detained in prison spir-

<sup>49</sup> This was a fatal clause, as it opened the door to arbitrary decisions of the judge.

<sup>50</sup> The witches were thrown into water, hands and feet closely tied; if they swam, it was a proof of guilt.



itual remedies should be at hand against the attacks of the devil: holy water, crucifixes, etc.; priests should exercise their functions to reconcile them to God. Thirdly, after the death sentence no denial of the condemned is to be accepted. Fourthly, before execution they should be diligently prepared to receive the sacraments worthily."

This is a short extract of Gregory's principles concerning witch prosecution. In nearly every detail he quotes the authority of Binsfeld, on whom he absolutely relies. His doctrine sounds frightful to us, and proves what sway the superstition held over the minds of men. How otherwise could a man, known as a profound thinker, give such advice? In justice to the man, however, it must be added that several of his principles, for instance, that a defense is to be admitted, that the witnesses must be trustworthy, that the denunciation of one witness is not sufficient for employing torture, unless other proofs strengthen the case, were considered too lenient by most judges. It is certain, therefore, that Valentia did not wish to advocate injustice. Still it must be said that his expositions proved disastrous.

Worse was the book of another Spanish Jesuit, Father Martin Delrio. Born at Antwerp in 1551, he was for some years a zealous student of ancient and modern languages; then he devoted himself to the study of law, in which he received the doctorate at Salamanca, in 1574. Called to Belgium, he was made Vice-Chancellor and Procurator-General of Brabant. In 1580 he entered the Society of Jesus and taught later on philosophy and theology. In 1599 he published his "*Disquisitiones Magicae*," of which about twenty editions appeared within one hundred and fifty years.<sup>51</sup> This notorious work exhibits wide reading and extensive learning, but betrays an almost incredible lack of criticism. The silliest witch stories are believed without any critical examination. It is sufficient that the story is told by a pious man to make it credible.<sup>52</sup>

To give an instance: "Hear, O reader, another quite well-founded certain story. In the year 1587 a soldier on guard shot into a dark cloud, and lo, a woman fell to his feet. Now what do those say who deny that witches ride to meetings? They will say that they do not believe it. Let them remain incredulous, because they will not believe eye-witnesses of whom I could adduce many," etc. We might laugh at such silly credulity, if it had not borne such sad consequences. Delrio states that zeal for the glory of God led him to write the book. He says: "Judges are bound under pain

<sup>51</sup> Professor Burr discovered an earlier and much briefer draft of the work at Brussels, dated 1596. Janssen-Pastor, VIII., p. 603.

<sup>52</sup> He accepts as true all the stories related in the *Malleus maleficarum* and by Binsfeld. Burr states that Delrio draws his stories, at least the more modern one, largely from the "*Litterae annuae*," p. 16, note 3.

of mortal sin to condemn witches to death who have confessed their crimes; any one who pronounces against the death sentence is reasonably suspected of secret complicity; no one is to urge the judges to desist from the prosecution, nay, it is an *indicium* of witchcraft to defend witches, or to affirm that witch stories which are told as certain are mere deceptions or illusions. One does not avoid what one defends. In fact, such protectors have mostly been found out to be accomplices of witchcraft, as, for instance, Flade,"<sup>53</sup> whom Binsfeld had so stoutly opposed. Indeed, Binsfeld had expressly said in the first edition of his book (1589) "that he prints it in the hope of dispelling a skepticism which hindered the punishment of witches in his own home."<sup>54</sup>

Delrio tells us that he wrote his book above all for the benefit of the judges, "*ut iudicibus consulam.*" His advice must have been most welcome to many eager witch persecutors, who now heard that they were on the right track; whilst others, who were more inclined to leniency, were frightened by the thought of neglecting their duty and running the risk of being personally suspected. Yet even Delrio advocated some mitigation of what was commonly practised. He exhorts the judges to proceed carefully lest the innocent should suffer; it were better, he says, that one hundred culprits remained unpunished than that one innocent person should be condemned; every judge should remember that there was a higher judge above him, who one day would judge him.<sup>55</sup> The torture is to be applied only when the evidence is quite conclusive. He rejects the validity of certain evidence commonly accepted, as the fear and trembling of the accused; he condemns as cruelty the distinction made by Sprenger in the *Malleus maleficarum* that the repetition of the torture was merely a continuation of it. The torture was to be used, at the most, only three times. No new cruelties were to be invented.

A comparison with the description which a Protestant theologian, Meyfart,<sup>56</sup> gives us of the exquisite cruelties practised at his time, when people were burnt with sulphur, seething oil, etc., makes it evident that Delrio's recommendations amounted to a considerable mitigation of the usual proceedings. Most important were the following principles: "1. The confession wrung from a person by torture is null and void, and a death sentence cannot be based on it. 2. The testimony of accomplices, no matter how numerous, cannot alone be the basis of a condemnation. I know that the opposite view is held more commonly. 3. By all means a counsel for defense must be granted; the witches are mostly illiterate people, who cannot defend themselves, therefore others must defend them." Protestant

<sup>53</sup> Duhr, "Stellung," pp. 39-43.

<sup>54</sup> Burr, p. 47.

<sup>55</sup> Janssen-Pastor, VIII., p. 613.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid, 616.

jurists at Coburg who followed this more lenient course, and granted a defense, were on that account attacked by the Coburg Protestant preachers. Then the jurists appealed to Delrio's work, which advocated this mitigation. In many courts the torture was used eight, ten or twelve hours, whereas Delrio forbids the use of it beyond one hour.

Still all these circumstances did not prevent the book from being most baneful in its principal tendency, and from being the source of unspeakable evil, as appears from hundreds of trials, in which Delrio is referred to as the recognized author who declares legitimate the harsh measures used against witches.<sup>57</sup>

Diefenbach endeavors to extenuate the charge against the Catholic theologians, Sprenger, Binsfeld, Delrio and others, by saying that their works were written for the learned world and in Latin, whereas Protestant preachers wrote mostly in the vernacular, addressing themselves directly to the people.<sup>58</sup> This palliation can hardly be admitted.<sup>59</sup> Works in the vernacular evidently did more to spread the *belief* in witchcraft among the people; but the witch *persecutions* were not popular outbreaks, but systematic proceedings of the authorities. If the clergy and the jurists had been more critical in their inquiries, we might have heard of occasional outbreaks, of wild acts of barbarous popular fury, like lynching in this country, but there would never have been systematic witch persecutions. And if Catholic priests and Protestant preachers had strenuously combated the popular ideas, the superstition would never have assumed such horrible dimensions. Now the said Latin theological works were addressed to theologians and still more to the jurists, consequently to the men in whose hands it lay to stop the persecution. And as in those times the opinions of theologians were decisive for the jurists, it may be said that Princes and courts of justice would not have prosecuted the so-called witches, if Catholic and Protestant theologians and preachers had not defended the most exorbitant forms of belief in witchcraft.<sup>60</sup> The two Jesuit theologians are to be blamed severely for propounding this disastrous belief with a whole scientific apparatus. But even Professor Riezler says: "The greatest part of the responsibility lies on the Inquisitors, especially on the Dominicans who wrote the *Malleus maleficarum*, a work which forms, directly or indirectly, the basis (of the systematic defense of witch persecution) for the succeeding centuries."<sup>61</sup> In another place the same historian writes: "Whereas, on the part of

<sup>57</sup> Riezler, "Historische Zeitschrift," 1900, I., 249.

<sup>58</sup> L. c., p. 35.

<sup>59</sup> We abstract from the fact that Binsfeld's work appeared in a German translation, 1590 and 1591.

<sup>60</sup> If thus limited, Professor Riezler's position ("Historische Zeitschrift," 1900, I., p. 245) could perhaps be accepted.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.



Catholics, the Jesuits indeed urged witch persecution, whilst such conduct was exceptional in the secular clergy, we find this dismal activity (of urging the persecution) more frequently among Lutheran preachers."<sup>62</sup> That it is an unwarrantable generalization to say "*the Jesuits*" will appear from the next paragraphs, where we shall meet Jesuit theologians who, even at a great personal risk, strenuously combated the witch persecution. And one of them, the heroic Father Frederick Spe, did more than any other man to put an end to the horrible trials.

#### VI. ADAM TANNER AND PAUL LAYMANN.

The two Spanish Jesuits, Gregory de Valentia and Delrio, were soon opposed by the most distinguished Jesuit theologian of the age in Germany, Adam Tanner. Born at Innsbruck, 1572, he taught in Ingolstadt, Munich, Vienna and Prague. His "*Theologia Scholastica*" appeared in 1624. In treating of the angels in the first volume he mentions witches. He asks: what is to be thought of "witch sabbaths?" He adduces two opinions; the one, that witches could not ride out at all; the other, "the common and true opinion of Catholic theologians," that witches were sometimes carried by the devil to nightly meetings. But against Delrio Tanner holds that women, who say or believe that they have been taken to witch sabbaths, suffer in most cases from illusions. He proves this especially from the fact that such women pretend to have been changed into cats, mice, birds. "This is evidently absurd, as neither angel nor devil could transform man into an animal."<sup>63</sup>

Tanner treats more fully of witchcraft in the third volume. He warns emphatically against the hasty and uncritical proceedings manifested in trials. He firmly maintains the falseness of the objection advanced by several theologians, especially Binsfeld and Delrio, that God would not permit the condemnation of innocent persons. He attacks in several paragraphs the dangerous practice of accepting the confessions of tortured witches as grounds for indicting those whose names were thus revealed. Here again he vigorously assails Binsfeld, Delrio, Gregory de Valentia and others, and says that this pernicious practice caused many innocent persons to be tortured and condemned. "For it is morally certain that, under the agony of the torture, the accused say anything to be relieved from their frightful sufferings."<sup>64</sup> Tanner does not deny the existence of witchcraft in some cases, nor does he condemn the witch trials as such. But he condemned the trials as they were conducted, and he demanded so many modifications and so much caution, that, if his

<sup>62</sup> See Diefenbach, p. 35.

<sup>63</sup> Duhr, "*Stellung*," pp. 45-47.

<sup>64</sup> See Duhr, l. c. 47-53.

principles had been followed, few, if any, witches would have been burned. He demands that penitent witches should not be burnt, but receive ecclesiastical penances, like those imposed in the early Church; he advises all to have recourse rather to spiritual weapons: profession of faith, prayers, good education of children, Christian instruction by sermons and catechism, suppression of cursing and bad talk, etc. By such means, he says, witchcraft could be extirpated much more effectively than by trials. It would be unfair to blame Tanner for not having absolutely condemned trials for witchcraft.<sup>65</sup> On the contrary, we must admire him for daring to advocate such moderation against so many theologians and jurists. Binsfeld, Delrio, Carpzov (the famous Protestant jurist in Saxony) and others declared such advocates of leniency suspect of witchcraft. Indeed Father Spe writes that two inquisitors of a powerful Prince threatened to place Tanner on the rack if they should lay hold of him.<sup>66</sup>

Tanner was considered by the Jesuits as "one of their best and most pious theologians. None of his brethren opposed his work."<sup>67</sup> Undoubtedly his views exercised a most salutary influence on the Jesuits who came in contact with the author or his book.

This influence was soon noticed in the work of another German Jesuit, Paul Laymann, a distinguished writer on moral theology.

Laymann, like Tanner, did not deny witchcraft, nor did he absolutely condemn the trials, but he said much to prevent judicial murders. He refutes especially Binsfeld's theory that the denunciation by several witches proved the guilt of the accused. "It is never lawful," he writes, "to put a person to death for having been denounced by others, no matter how many they are who make the denunciations. This principle can be proved by a double argument: First, witches who have confessed their own guilt are for this very reason unworthy of being believed; besides the hatred they bear to others invalidates their deposition. Secondly, though the depositions of several witches may all point to the same person, they are usually not at one as regards the circumstances. Consequently their denunciations do not create an adequate certitude, one that is clearer than daylight, as is required for a judicial condemnation to death."<sup>68</sup> The judges of the time hardly ever admitted a retraction after a

<sup>65</sup> We find that the greatest men of the time could not rid themselves of these opinions. Thus the great Astronomer Kepler, a Protestant, who only with the greatest efforts saved his own mother from the torture and the stake (1615), writes in the strongest terms against the *cruelty* of the witch trials, and yet he expressly admits that witches can cause preternaturally diseases, etc. Janssen-Pastor, VIII., p. 668.

<sup>66</sup> "Cautio criminalis, dubia," 9 and 18. Duhr, "Spe," p. 73. Janssen-Pastor, VIII., p. 657.

<sup>67</sup> Janssen-Pastor, VIII., p. 659.

<sup>68</sup> "Theologia Moralis," lib. iii., tract. vi., cap. v., sec. 1. "De Sagis," quaestio duodecima; "Dico III,"

denunciation had been wrung from the witches by torture. Laymann is altogether against this practice. "When a witch asserts that, from hatred or from fear of torture, she has denounced innocent persons, the confessor must tell her that she is under the gravest obligation to retract her false denunciation before the judge, although she may fear to be tortured again on account of her inconstancy. However, she must not be urged to retract if there is no hope that the judge will believe her retraction. For ordinarily the judges do not listen to any such retraction. As to the question whether the judge is bound to consider these retractions, Binsfeld, Delrio and the majority of authors answer in the negative. They say such a retraction, made outside of court, cannot invalidate the solemn denunciation made under torture and confirmed before the judge and a notary. Against this line of argument I say: Either you believe that the retraction is true or not. If the retraction is true, the denunciation must be false. If you do not believe that the retraction is true, you must admit the great inconstancy and levity of the woman who, at the very point of death, dares to lie in so important a matter. Therefore, besides being a witch she is a convicted liar and perjurer; hence she does not deserve to be believed."<sup>69</sup> Laymann reprehends the judges for committing witches to the torture, as soon as they are arrested; "for then they are much frightened and almost despairing, so that they are inclined to confess a crime which they have not committed, in order to escape by death the ignominy and misery into which they have fallen." Further, "a confession made after the judge threatens with torture, or has applied it, must be considered null. A denunciation is valid only if made voluntarily, without any fear of torture. If the accused has freely denounced any one, she is to be tortured to see whether she confirms the denunciation."<sup>70</sup> If this course had been followed, instead of the opposite, very few witches would have been denounced and burnt. Laymann says also that "it is a Christian custom to put a bag of powder around the breast of the condemned when they are burnt, that thus they may not be tormented too long and without any relief."<sup>71</sup>

In many other passages Laymann argues with Tanner against Binsfeld and Delrio, and pleads for a milder treatment. Wherever he upholds what to us appears shocking, he follows these two authors and the writers of the *Malleus maleficarum*. In one passage he earnestly exhorts the judges to use all caution lest any innocent person be condemned. "It is better to let go unpunished some who are guilty than to condemn unjustly any who are inno-

<sup>69</sup> Ibid, quaestio iii., n. 24-26.

<sup>70</sup> Ib., qu. xi., n. 48.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid, qu. xiv., n. 59.



cent. Hence Christ said: 'Let the cockle grow with the wheat, lest perhaps gathering up the cockle, you root up the wheat also together with it.'"<sup>72</sup> From these and many similar passages in Laymann's work it appears that Professor Riezler is not justified when he says: "This Munich Jesuit does not deserve the honorable place among the opponents of witch prosecution which superficial knowledge has assigned him. . . . Where Laymann expresses his own opinions—in the first two editions of his 'Theologia Moralis' and in his 'Juridicus Processus Contra Sagas et Veneficos'—he adopts, on the whole, the prevailing abominable system, and, in doubtful cases, inclines even towards the severer view."<sup>73</sup> It is true, he accepted in great part the prevailing system, but even in the first two editions of his "Theologia Moralis" he considerably modified it, and went still further in those which followed.

It is not true, however, that, in disputed cases, he inclined towards the severer view; the very opposite is true. Besides, Professor Riezler's charge rests on a false supposition, viz., that Laymann is the author of the "Juridicus Processus Contra Sagas." This "Juridicus Processus" furnished indeed arguments against Laymann, until a few months ago this difficulty was solved by Father Duhr in an unexpected manner. In the year 1629 Laymann published the third edition of his "Theologia Moralis," in which he requires caution in the trials even more emphatically than in the first two editions. But in the same year appeared a work in Aschaffenburg, by Quirin Botzer, whose full title was "Tractatus Novus de Processu Contra Sagas et Veneficos," that is: A juridical process against witches and sorcerers, with great diligence and solid arguments composed in the Latin language by Father Paul Laymann, Theologian of the Society of Jesus and Doctor of Canon Law. Now rendered into German for the benefit of judges, also *augmented* by stories and other material, and *divided* under sundry titles." In the same year another edition of this work was printed at Cologne, which differs from the Aschaffenburg edition only by the first words of the title: "Juridicus Processus" instead of "Tractatus Novus de Processu Juridico." Indeed in this work the severer views *are* advocated throughout, the value and necessity of torture are insisted on, and Tanner's appeals for leniency are combated.

Father Duhr points out the *intrinsic* contradictions between this work and the "Theologia Moralis" of Laymann, even in its first and second edition, and much more in the third. Is it not altogether unintelligible, nay, a monstrosity, to think that a man of known honesty published two works in the same year, advocating in one leniency against the prevailing practices, and in the other urging the

<sup>72</sup> Ibid, qu. xiii., n. 56.

<sup>73</sup> "Histor. Zeitschrift," l. c., p. 251.

pernicious practices which he had condemned in the first? Besides, the Latin original of which the "Juridicus Processus" is supposed to be a translation has never been found. Further, the work is, according to the title, *augmented and divided under sundry titles* in the translation. But it is not even suggested that translation, additions and division are Laymann's work. From these and other reasons Father Duhr concluded that Laymann could not be the author of the "Processus Juridicus Contra Sagas," although all the Bibliographies of the Society, also that of Sommervogel, ascribe it to him. Careful research brought forth weighty *extrinsic* reasons which corroborate this conjecture.<sup>74</sup> Professor Riezler then attacked Father Duhr and said that all his objections against Laymann's authorship of the "Processus" were insignificant. ("Hist. Zeitsch., 1900, p. 256.) Still a striking discovery proved the correctness of Father Duhr's position.

Father Duhr had conjectured that a second edition of the "Processus" existed, probably without the name of Laymann. Many libraries were searched, especially those of Berlin and Munich. At last a copy was found in the City Library of Mentz. It is of the very year 1629, published by the same Quirin Botzer, and is called the "Posterior et Correctior Editio." What is most remarkable is the fact that the *whole correction consists in the omission of Father Laymann's name*, both on the title page and in the dedication. The first edition says: "Carefully and diligently written in Latin through P. Paulum Laymann, Societatis Jesu Theologum et Juris Canonici Doctorem." This is left out in the second edition. Consequently Father Duhr concluded: 1. Father Laymann never wrote a Latin work, "Processus Juridicus Contra Sagas." 2. The German work under that title was not written by Laymann, but by some other author, who frequently quotes Laymann's authority. 3. The publisher used Laymann's name as an advertisement, as he was the most renowned writer on Moral Theology at the time. Against these conclusions Professor Riezler argued negatively: "If this had been the case, Father Laymann would have protested against this abuse of his name either in the later editions of his 'Theologia Moralis' or somewhere else." Such a negative argument holds good only if we possess all the relative documents, especially all the letters on the subject. But something must have happened shortly after the publication of the first edition; for the second edition appears in the *same year by the same publisher* as "Editio Correctior," omitting merely the name of Father Laymann as author. The publisher would not have taken this step except for most weighty reasons, as the name of the distinguished theologian was the best recommenda-

<sup>74</sup> See Duhr, "Stellung," pp. 56-59, and "Innsbrucker Theologische Zeitschrift," 1900, pp. 585 foll.

tion of the book. What is more natural than the conclusion that the protest of Father Laymann, or of his friends, was the reason for dropping the name and putting an end to the fraud?<sup>75</sup>

In the meantime the author of the book seems to have been found. Professor Binz publishes a notice in the "*Historische Zeitschrift*" (1900, vol. 85, pp. 291 foll) that, according to the "*Bibliotheca Coloniensis*" (1747) of the Jesuit Hartzheim (p. 182), the "*Processus Juridicus*" was published "*anonymously by Dr. Jordanaeus, Canon and Pastor in Bonn, by order of the Prince-Archbishop, at Cologne, 1629.*" Based on these facts, Father Duhr's latest conclusions are: 1. A Latin edition of the "*Processus Juridicus*" never existed. 2. The German book under that title must definitely be struck from the list of Laymann's works.<sup>76</sup>

Professor Binz, assuming Laymann's authorship of the "*Processus*" wrote in 1885 and 1896: "Laymann cannot be reckoned among the few that had more enlightened views about witch prosecution. His merit is only to have strenuously advocated caution. But even this means something in the century of Carpzovs."<sup>77</sup> As the "*Processus*" can no longer be attributed to Laymann, he now undoubtedly ranks higher amongst the opponents of witch prosecution.

#### VII. THE CAUTIO CRIMINALIS OF FREDERICK SPE.

In the year 1631, at the time when the persecution had reached its height, a little book of four hundred pages appeared under the title: "*Cautio Criminalis, seu de Processibus Contra Sagas Liber: Caution in criminal processes, or a book on witch trials, at this time necessary for the magistrates of Germany, and most useful for councillors and confessors of princes, inquisitors, judges, lawyers, confessors of the accused, preachers and others. Written by an unknown Roman Theologian.*" The author was the Jesuit Frederick Spe, a distinguished German poet, but much more famous as the brave opponent of witch prosecution. In order to appreciate this work, we must briefly sketch the author's life.

Frederick Spe (or Spee) von Langenfeld<sup>78</sup> was born 1591 at Kaiserswerth, near Düsseldorf, Rhineland. He was the scion of an

<sup>75</sup> "*Innsbrucker Theolog. Zeitschrift*," 1901, p. 168.

<sup>76</sup> "*Innsbr. Theol. Zeitsch.*," 1901, p. 168.

<sup>77</sup> Duhr, "*Stellung*," p. 59, note 4. The Lutheran Carpzov, called the "lawgiver of Saxony" (1666), declared that not only witchcraft, but the denial of the reality of diabolical facts should be severely punished. It is said that he pronounced twenty thousand death sentences in witch trials. Although there is no foundation for this assertion, it is certain that he sentenced a very great number. His juridical works exerted a far-reaching influence. The biographer of Carpzov says of those who blame the famous jurist for his severity: "The critics that judge from the viewpoint of modern ideas do not apply a fair criticism." (See Duhr, "*Stellung*," p. 21, note 2.) Should not men like Soldan, Riezler, Hansen and others, who censure the theologians so severely, have remembered this principle and applied it to the theologians as well as to the jurists?

<sup>78</sup> Duhr, "*Spe*," pp. 3 foll.



old noble family, of which one branch survives in the Counts von Spee. Twelve or thirteen years old, Frederick was sent to the Jesuit College at Cologne. After having completed the course, he entered the Society of Jesus, 1610, nearly twenty years of age. The motive of this step is expressed in a letter to Father Mutius Vitelleschi, General of the Society. In touching terms he explains his desire to go on foreign missions: "From early childhood a secret fire consumes me, which, in spite of all attempts to smother it, breaks forth again and again: India has wounded my heart. In my boyish games this thought occupied my mind; my parents sought in vain to divert me from it. This thought, and hardly anything else, has led me to this Society. . . . On my knees I write this letter, begging, for the love of Christ, to be sent to the place where my heart is; but only, if it be the will of God, which I seek to fulfil with such burning love that I cannot imagine anything so hard, so low, so painful, which I am not willing to bear under His guidance." Another mission awaited him, in which pain and suffering should not be wanting.

Spe was a novice of the Society at Treves, 1611-1612, studied philosophy at Würzburg 1613-15, then taught four years in Jesuit colleges. In 1620 he went to the University of Mentz to study theology. His zeal could not be satisfied with this study and he began to write, but the General of the Society advised him to postpone the publication of these works. After his studies Spe taught Moral Theology at Paderborn, Cologne and Treves.<sup>79</sup> From Paderborn complaints were repeatedly sent to Rome against Spe, and in 1631, in the middle of the scholastic year, he was deposed from his office by the rector of the college, without sufficient investigation into his conduct.<sup>80</sup> Spe complained to the General, and it seems that nothing of importance could be found against him, as the general wrote to Spe: "I think you have been unjustly denounced to superiors." It was, however, not the last difficulty Spe was to find within his own order. That misunderstandings happen also among men of the same religious order cannot surprise any one who has a knowledge of human nature. "It is especially the lot of sharply marked characters to offend others and to be misunderstood, particularly by such as, caring more for smaller concerns and trifles, easily lose sight of higher viewpoints."<sup>81</sup> Father Reiffenberg, who

<sup>79</sup> His lectures on moral theology were kept for some time in manuscript, but are now lost. They are embodied in the famous work of Father Busenbaum (1688), who says in the introduction to his "*Medulla Theologiae Moralis*:" "I have followed the most approved authors, eminent among whom are Hermann Nuning and Frederick Spe, to whom I owe very much." Thus Spe's notes are indirectly a source for St. Alphonsus and most modern moralists. See Father Blötzer, S. J., on Frederick Spe; in "*Wetzer and Welte's Kirchenlexikon*" (2 ed.), Vol. XI., 577.

<sup>80</sup> Duhr, "Spe," pp. 24 foll.

<sup>81</sup> Duhr, "Spe," p. 28.

wrote a history of the province to which Spe belonged, says that "through God's permission Spe had always superiors, whose opinions differed from his, who censured many of his doings and never allowed him to make the Profession.<sup>82</sup> He experienced, like St. Francis Regis, that such struggles are the most difficult of all."

From 1632-35 Spe was Professor of Moral Theology at Treves. Here he had begun his life as a religious, here he was also to end it. It was during the Thirty Years' War, the period of greatest humiliation for Germany, that the Archbishop-Elector of Treves had treacherously surrendered the city and the Electorate to France, and nominated Cardinal Richelieu as Coadjutor and successor in the Electorship. The Imperial army entered Treves, a fierce battle ensued in the streets of the city. Spe hastened to the scene, administered the sacraments to the dying, carried the wounded on his shoulders to places of safety, dressed their wounds, begged alms for the captured soldiers and secured liberty for many of them. Then a pestilential fever broke out in the city. Spe was indefatigable in the service of the sick and dying, brought them food and carried water from the public fountains to the hospitals and the houses of the sick. No hovel was too wretched, no sick room too revolting, no prison too gloomy for him; neither filth nor danger of infection could deter him from assisting the poor and the sick in their spiritual and bodily wants. At last he was seized by the fever, and died August 7, 1635, a victim of his zeal and charity. He was buried in the "Jesuit Church," where the place is marked with the humble inscription: "Here lies Frederick Spe."

German literature owes to Spe one of the best poetical productions of the seventeenth century. His little volume of poems, "Trutz-Nachtigall," "Dare Nightingale,"<sup>83</sup> contains many exquisite songs full of warmth, sweetness, power and devotion. Its great merits are admitted by competent critics of the most different schools, Protestants as well as Catholics.<sup>84</sup> Another little prose work has met with great praise, "Virtue's Golden Book" (*Güldenes Tugendbuch*). It is a devotional work which gives instructions on "Faith, Hope and Charity, the essence of perfection." It breathes a spirit of faith, a burning love for God and man, which can only come from a heart deeply imbued with the principles of Christianity. No less a man than the great Protestant Leibniz was an enthusiastic admirer of this little work. He writes: "It is a wholly divine book (*liber plane divinus*), and I wish it were in the hands of all Christians. In my opinion it is one of the most solid and most touching devotional books ever written."<sup>85</sup> In this beautiful little work Spe

<sup>82</sup> The last solemn vows of the Jesuit.

<sup>83</sup> Spe explains this title by saying that his book "sings sweetly as a nightingale."

<sup>84</sup> See Duhr, "Spe," pp. 38-56.

<sup>85</sup> Duhr, "Spe," pp. 30-31.

gives expression to his compassion for the poor victims of witch persecution. He describes vividly the torments of the innocent persons, and then addresses to his soul the question, whether it be not willing to render them consolation and assistance. The answer is: "Certainly, most certainly. God knows how grieved I am for not being able to help them. Methinks I would fain kneel down and offer mine own head to be struck off, if therewith I could save them. Oh my most merciful Lord! how canst Thou suffer that Thy creatures are thus tormented? I implore Thee through Thy holy blood which flowed in Thy tender body, come and help all the innocent and oppressed, that they may not despair. Enlighten those placed in power that they may diligently see how they judge, and that justice be not turned into cruelty and ungodliness. Would that I were able to go around to all creatures and visit the poor prisoners! Oh my God! how I should like to do this and to comfort all heartily, to encourage them, and to render them all service and love for the sake of Christ my Lord!"<sup>86</sup> These were the sentiments which prompted Spe to write the "*Cautio Criminalis*."

A man, burning with such heroic love for his fellow-men, must have been deeply moved at the horrors of witch persecution. At Paderborn, perhaps for a short time also at Würzburg and in other places, Spe had heard the confessions of witches and accompanied them to the stake.<sup>87</sup>

In his "*Cautio*"<sup>88</sup> he says: "I assert and confirm under oath that I never found one of the accused guilty; the same I have heard from two other theologians; and yet I have taken all possible pains to ascertain the truth." Leibniz writes in a letter that one day (probably in the year 1627), Philip von Schönborn, Canon at Würzburg, later on Bishop of that city, asked Spe why his hair had turned gray before the time. The father replied: "It comes from the witches whom I have accompanied to the stake." When Schönborn expressed his surprise at this answer, Spe explained: "In spite of all investigations I could not find that one of them was guilty. I possessed their perfect confidence, and all complained with heart-rending sobs about the wickedness and injustice of the judges, and in their last needs they called on God as witness of their innocence. This frightful, oft-repeated spectacle has so shocked me that I have become prematurely gray."<sup>89</sup>

The "*Cautio*" contains fifty-one *Dubia* or questions. He answers them by referring frequently to Tanner's opinions, and very often

<sup>86</sup> Duhr, "Spe," p. 125.

<sup>87</sup> In most historical works it is said that Spe acted as confessor of the witches chiefly at Würzburg. But this is hardly possible, for as priest he spent only a very short time at Würzburg. See Duhr, "Spe," pp. 21 and 57.

<sup>88</sup> "Dubium," 30.

<sup>89</sup> Duhr, "Spe," p. 21.



argues against Binsfeld and Delrio. We can call attention only to a few of the more characteristic questions.<sup>90</sup>

*Dubium 7.* Can witchcraft be extirpated by severe measures? I answer: No. The princes never will come to an end, unless they burn everything. If the mild measures of the Jesuit theologian Tanner were adopted, the princes would gain their object.

*Dubium 8.* What caution is to be taken in witch trials? These trials demand exceptionally great caution, conscientiousness and prudence, because once the prosecutions are begun, they increase the number of the accused without end. The execution of so many innocent persons is a disgrace not only to noble families, as Tanner has well remarked, but to the Catholic religion, which is belittled by its opponents, if even men, distinguished for their piety, are swept away by that torrent. I have heard that in some places one is suspected if he says the rosary more devoutly, prays more fervently in church and manifests other signs of devotion. It is said they perform such works of piety because they are tormented by the devil. Thus it has come about that in the dominion of a certain prince every one avoids carefully all appearance of piety. Priests, who formerly used to say Mass daily, now omit it altogether, or celebrate secretly, lest the people denounce them as suspect of witchcraft. In some places the jurists and lay inquisitors who conduct the witch trials receive a certain sum of money, four or five *thaler* (dollars), for every guilty person. How easily can justice be violated on account of avarice!

*Dubium 9.* Do princes escape the responsibility by leaving all care to the officials? Not at all; for princes cannot always rely on the knowledge and conscientiousness of their officials. The princes take personal care of financial affairs, of hawking and hunting. They are certainly not excused, if they do not personally examine cases in which the lives of men are at stake. If the princes saw the wretched condition of the accused, if they beheld with their own eyes the barbarous cruelty of the torture, there would soon be fewer witches. The princes do not hear the truth from their officials, as these are interested in the prosecution. In some places they banquet together with the confessors who also receive a sum of money for each condemned person. Other people will not tell the princes the truth, for they would immediately be suspected as patrons and protectors of witchcraft. I remind the reader only of Father Tanner. His prudent and reasonable warnings were a sufficient evidence for certain inquisitors and jurists to threaten so great a theologian with torture. Even confessors of princes are either not allowed or do not care to warn their penitents. Three times I have

---

<sup>90</sup> The following summary is taken from Father Duhr's biography of "Spe," pp. 68-114.

taken the pen in my hand to utter an emphatic protest; three times I dropped it, for what business is it of mine? But woe, that so many others whose business it is, are silent.

*Dubium 11.* Is it credible that God has permitted innocent persons to be condemned? Against Binsfeld and Delrio I answer with Tanner and other learned and pious men: there is no doubt that God has allowed it. My own experience proves it. I have heard confessions of witches in various places and not even found one who was guilty. As I could not go against the courts, it is easy to imagine how I felt at seeing these innocent persons die. Also for other reasons it is certain that many innocent people were burnt, on account of the imprudence or wickedness of the judges, the cruel application of the torture, the inane evidences, etc.; and in spite of all this we are to believe with Delrio that God will soon reveal the innocence of any one who has been condemned unjustly? True enough, He reveals their innocence, but after they have been burnt to ashes!

*Dubium 12.* Trials in which there is any danger for innocent persons are to be stopped.

*Dubium 13.* I repeat with Tanner Christ's parable: "Let the cockle grow," etc.

*Dubium 17.* Is a defense to be allowed? I am ashamed of putting the question, but I am forced to do so. The answer is evidently affirmative, as natural law and reason give every one the right of defense, and this the more, the greater the crime of which one is accused. How many innocent people have been executed, because no opportunity for defense was given them!

*Dubium 15.* Who are they that urge the authorities to persecute witches? Answer as above (p. 478).

*Dubium 16.* How can injustice be prevented? Above all by appointing learned, prudent, upright judges, who not only look at the letter of the law, but follow reason, and in doubtful cases, always decide in favor of the accused. But now the judges presuppose the guilt of the accused and try to prove it by right or wrong means. Besides no extra fee is to be given to the judges, and the property of the accused must not be confiscated by the princes. Now the saying is: "The easiest means of becoming rich is the burning of witches." Further, as the Caroline Code is not satisfactory, a new Imperial Law must be made which leaves as little as possible to the discretion of the judges. For the drawing up of this law not only jurists are to be consulted, but also theologians and *physicians*.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>91</sup> This is one of the most remarkable and most enlightened demands of Father Spe. We know now that some strange phenomena which in former ages were ascribed to diabolical influence, are really the effect of bodily or mental diseases. It seems as though Father Spe preluded what only in recent times has received due attention: "Pastoral Medicine" and "Legal and Pastoral Psychiatry." At all events, there can be no doubt that this man was far ahead of his age.

. . . If this is not done, nothing is left but to abolish the trials altogether, on account of the many innocent persons whose blood cries to heaven. A last means is the punishment of unjust judges.

*Dubium 18.* Therefore defense is not only to be granted but to be facilitated in every manner. But what is done? Not long ago a priest showed the judges from the minutes of the trials the injustice of their proceedings. The consequence was that the accused were executed, and the priest was once for all forbidden to enter a prison. The same is said to have happened to several other priests. If one dares to admonish the judges, he is suspected himself. For this reason I do not publish this work which I have written long ago, but give it only to a few friends; however, they must conceal my name; for the example of Tanner, whose worthy and prudent treatise has enraged so many, terrifies me. A trial without defense is null, and judges and princes are bound to make restitution for the damage done. Also councillors and confessors who fail to give warning of this duty are guilty.

*Dubium 19.* Priests should not press the accused to make confession of their guilt. I hear some ignorant, imprudent, indiscreet priests do so. What a responsibility, not only for such priests, but also for those who commission them with this dangerous office of hearing the confessions of witches. Lately at a banquet, a famous jurist praised a priest (who had accompanied to the stake nearly 200 witches) for having obtained from all accused persons the promise that they would acknowledge everything in confession that they had stated on the rack, as otherwise he would not hear their confession, and they would have to die like dogs, without the sacraments. Thus many persons were compelled to utter falsehoods even in confession. A worthy pair united, such a judge and such a priest! When I went to the prison I remembered the words which Father Tanner quotes from Ecclesiastes (iv., 1): "I turned myself to other things and I saw the oppressions that are done under the sun, and the tears of the innocent, and they had no comforter; and they were not able to resist their violence, being destitute of help from any. And I praise the dead rather than the living."

*Dubium 20.* What is to be thought of the torture? It is evidently a frequent danger for the innocent and fills our land with witches. (Spe then describes the frightful cruelties, practised in violation of the laws of Pope Paul III.) The torments are so great that the accused rather acknowledge any crimes than suffer longer. Recently a religious asked some jurists how a person innocently accused could save himself? They gave an evasive answer, but pressed hard by the religious, they finally said "they would think it over." Thus, the judges who lighted so many pyres do not know how an innocent



person could save himself. The authorities do not know. Oh, the blindness of the wise! But they sit snugly at home and philosophize about torture. If they were tortured for only a few minutes, they would stop philosophizing childishly about matters of which they know nothing. I agree with a friend of mine, a man of high rank, who repeatedly uttered this jest: "Why do we seek so anxiously for witches? Ye judges, put the Capuchins, the Jesuits and other religious on the rack; they will confess. Do you want more? Torture the prelates, the canons, the doctors; they will confess. For how could these poor delicate persons persist in denying! If you want still more, I will torture you, and you afterwards shall torture me; we all shall be witches."

*Dubium 28.* The torture is to be abolished, or is to be changed, in such manner that, with moral certitude, all dangers for the innocent are prevented.

*Dubium 29.* The confessions made under torture are invalid. I scorn the silly arguments brought forward for the opposite opinion. This is a matter of conscience for princes, their councillors and confessors. Human blood is not to be trifled with and human heads are no playthings, like balls which may be tossed about at pleasure. If before the eternal judge an account must be given for every idle word, how about the account for human blood? "Charity presses me," and burns within me to oppose with all zeal the burning of witches.

*Dubium 30.* Special caution is necessary in confession. To confessors I say: Be kind, charitable—the hangman's work is not yours.

*Dubium 35.* The authorities must severely punish such as denounce innocent persons.

*Dubium 39.* One who persistently denies guilt cannot be condemned. Unfortunately the contrary is most commonly done.

*Dubium 43.* "Witch marks" are no proof. I did not see any and do not believe in them, and deplore the shameful credulity of so many distinguished men in this regard.

*Dubium 44.* Against Binsfeld and Delrio I maintain that no denunciation of witches warrants the arrest or torture of the denounced, no matter how many have made the denunciation.

*Dubium 51.* The superstition, envy, calumny that exist among the Germans, and especially—I am ashamed to confess it—among the Catholics, are incredible. These vices create the suspicion of witchcraft. . . . Unexperienced, impetuous priests are sent to the prisons, who harass the accused until they confess themselves guilty. The judges are most diligent in preventing more discreet and more learned priests from visiting the victims, as they fear nothing more

than that such priests should make revelations in favor of the innocence of the accused. For *this reason men whom the whole world charges with the education of children, and to whom princes themselves entrust the care of their consciences, are prevented by the inquisitors of the same princes from directing the consciences of the accused.* Nay, such inquisitors said recently that these men should be banished from Germany, as disturbers of justice." These men are evidently the Jesuits; for at the time they had in their hands the education of youth nearly in the whole Catholic world, and many confessors of princes were Jesuits. Professor Riezler<sup>92</sup> admits that "the Jesuits are meant, in the first place Spe himself, and perhaps one or other of his brethren, at any rate only a few." The whole passage in its obvious sense points to the fact that more than "a few" must have shared the views of Spe. Spe concludes his book with these words:

"I cannot say more for grief and sorrow; I cannot publish this little book, nor translate it into German, which would not be without great benefit. Perhaps others will do this from love of their country and the innocent."<sup>93</sup> One thing I ask of all educated, pious, prudent critics, and I ask it by the judgment seat of the Almighty God, to read carefully and ponder over these lines: All magistrates and princes are in great danger of eternal perdition, if they do not turn their closest attention to this matter. They should not wonder that at times my warnings sound vehement. I do not wish to be one of those whom the prophet styles "dumb watch-dogs that do not bark." . . . May the authorities take care of themselves and the whole flock for which God will one day call them to account."

In an appendix the author draws a comparison between the Christians burned under Nero and the victims of witch persecutions. In both cases there were horrible accusations and frightful tortures, and yet it is certain that the Christians were innocent; the Catholic Church honors them as martyrs. The application to the witch trials is self-evident. These are the scanty outlines of a work which has been called "one of the most meritorious that ever appeared in Germany." Protestant critics are at one with Catholics in praising the work. Even Soldan-Heppe writes: "Under Spe's hands the belief in witchcraft dwindles down into so small dimensions and the trials are so thoroughly transformed that, if his principles had been followed, Germany would hardly ever have seen a single witch burnt."<sup>94</sup> The Protestant jurist Christian Thomasius (1728), who seventy years after Spe opposed the prosecution of witches, praised it most highly. Among other things he says: "Spe sets forth so clearly the injus-

<sup>92</sup> "Hist. Zeitschr.," 1900, p. 251.

<sup>93</sup> A German translation appeared 1649; Leibniz says "the 'Cautio' was translated into many languages." Sommervogel mentions French, Dutch and Polish translations.

<sup>94</sup> Duhr, "Stellung," p. 20.

tice of witch prosecutions that he justly puts to the blush those Evangelicals who defend these trials." Leibniz, too, speaks in high terms of the book, and the Protestant theologian David Hauber, in 1741, calls it "a work, used by Divine Providence to put an end to witch trials."<sup>95</sup> A modern Protestant critic (Professor Binz) says: "Spe cries out to the world with the voice of a prophet of old who reproaches the people of Israel for its abominable sin, and with the deep emotion of a man who has seen personally, day after day, all the terrors and abominations."<sup>96</sup> "It is a book," says Dr. Cardauns, "in which the highest literary gifts, the fulness of Christian charity and the whole power of his moral energy unite in a soul-stirring harmony; it is the triumph of reason and humanity over superstition and brutality, the monument which he has erected for himself, around which to-day mankind stands in gratitude, not excepting those even to whom his creed is a folly and his religious garb a scandal."<sup>97</sup>

How was the book received by Spe's brethren, the Jesuits? Here arises a great difficulty. The book appeared without the approbation of the superiors and without Spe's name. Professor Riezler writes: "The merit of the noble Jesuit Spe is indisputable, but it is altogether individual and in no way to be attributed to the order, as Spe, owing to the spirit prevailing in the order, saw himself obliged to publish the work anonymously."<sup>98</sup> Professor Riezler has overlooked several circumstances. Spe attacked most vigorously the credulity of his contemporaries, especially of pious men, priests and theologians; he assails the opinions and arguments of the distinguished Jesuits Gregory de Valentia and Delrio; he fearlessly exposes the injustice of princes, magistrates, judges and of the confessors of the princes. Now many of these confessors were Jesuits. Can we wonder that some of these Jesuits, as also such theologians as held the opinions of Delrio and Valentia, turned against Spe? One theologian, Peter Roestius, a Jesuit at Cologne, censured the book severely and threatened to have it put on the *Index* of Forbidden Books. On June 19, 1603, Father Vitelleschi, General of the Society, writes to Spe "he should not worry about the censures of Father Roestius, for his book would not meet the fate which that Father intended for it." And on June 22, of the same year, the General wrote to the Provincial: "I hear that Father Roestius causes Father Spe some trouble by too severe criticisms of his book, and that he even threatens to have the book put on the Index. As such behavior is against religious charity, I beg your Reverence to ad-

<sup>95</sup> Duhr, "Spe," p. 122.

<sup>96</sup> *Ib.*, p. 123-124.

<sup>97</sup> Quoted by Duhr, "Spe," p. 63.

<sup>98</sup> "Hist. Zeitsch.," 1900, p. 250.



monish Father Roestius to desist from censuring the book and from molesting Father Spe any further."<sup>99</sup>

These letters prove that the General was not opposed to the character of the book. But new and bitter complaints were soon made against Father Spe, so that the General on August 28, 1632, wrote to Father Goswin Nickel, at that time Provincial, to dismiss Father Spe from the Society, unless he had taken his last vows in the meantime. If it was not advisable to dismiss him, the Provincial should see how the storm of opposition which threatened on account of his book, could be met. Father Nickel was opposed to Spe's dismissal. In 1634 the General expresses his delight that Father Spe is in the best disposition and determined to be faithful to the Society and its constitutions. That there were Jesuits who from the very first spoke favorably of Father Spe's work is evident from the Annals of Father Turck, rector of the College at Treves (1669). He writes *ad annum* 1630: "Whilst others urged to greater hatred against witches, Frederick Spe, a priest of the Society, distinguished for piety, learning and nobility of birth, advocated milder measures by publishing a most useful book, the 'Cautio Criminalis,' which was received with great applause by many. Although the tyrannical judges violently opposed these warnings, the book brought it about that in many places a milder and more cautious course was adopted."<sup>100</sup>

On the other hand, it is easy to explain the anxiety of the Jesuit superiors about the effect of the book. Great difficulties were likely to arise from it for the whole order, because Spe had unsparingly attacked judges and princes. It is known that some of the jurists, even before the publication of this work had demanded the expulsion of the order from Germany, for "protecting the witches." Of the princes who were most zealous in the witch persecution, not a few were protectors and benefactors of Jesuit colleges. The Society had to expect their wrath, if a member of the order censured them so severely. For this reason Spe could not publish the work under his name. Besides he was deterred from doing so by the example of Father Tanner, whom certain lay inquisitors had threatened with torture, and yet Spe's invectives against witch prosecution were far more scathing.

Spe had given his manuscript to friends, as he states in the "Cautio" (*Dubium* 18). Knowing the author's zeal to stop the crying injustice, these friends could conclude that the publication of the work would be welcome to him. Thus they put it in print. It is not certain whether Father Spe actually consented to this step. That he was suspected of having given his consent appears from a letter

<sup>99</sup> Letters (in Latin) from the Archive of the German Province, in the "Historisches Jahrbuch," 1900, pp. 344 foll.

<sup>100</sup> Duhr, "Spe," p. 118.

of the General to the Provincial, Goswin Nickel, July 19, 1632. The General wants to know from Father Nickel "*quantum ipsius Patris Friderici in eo culpae deprehenderit*, how far he finds Father Spe guilty, for he seems to have acted surreptitiously, *aliquid dolo factum in eo negotio*." If this was the case, it was a serious transgression of the rule forbidding the publication of a book without the approbation of superiors. Father General calls it "a dangerous and bad example," *res pravi et periculosi exempli*. If Spe had connived at the publication, it was all the more aggravating in his case, as, owing to other previous complaints, his solemn profession had been postponed.

If for these reasons it is asserted that the book in no way does credit to the order, the precarious conditions which prevented the Society from openly endorsing Father Spe's views must be taken into consideration. It would have meant the suppression of many colleges and other persecutions. More than once the Jesuits had been publicly denounced as defenders of the witches and participators of their crimes. In 1599 the Protestant preacher Melchior Leonhard wrote: "The Jebusites [abusive appellation for Jesuits] often espouse the cause of the witches and demand mercy for this fiendish brood, for no other reason than that they themselves may not be summarily dealt with and handed over to the torture." And as early as 1575 another Protestant preacher, Seibert, had written: "The Jebusites practise dreadful sorcery, they anoint their pupils with secret salves of the devil, by which they so entice them that they do not want to be separated from these wizards and long to go back to them. Therefore the Jesuits must not only be expelled, but must be burnt as witches. Without this well-deserved punishment they cannot be gotten rid of. They are not only witches themselves, but teach witchcraft in their schools. The Jesuits use also certain secret charms to accelerate the progress of their pupils."<sup>101</sup>

All this explains fully the reserved and anxious attitude of the Society towards a publication of the character of the "*Cautio Criminalis*." In spite of this reserve we maintain that the Society justly claims for herself the man whom she educated from his twelfth year. Is it possible that he imbibed such humanitarian views if his whole surroundings were altogether in favor of witch persecution? Besides it is significant that the author to whom he refers almost continually for supporting his views is the Jesuit Tanner. Thus the Society may point to Spe's work as a full off-set for the deplorable blunders committed by Delrio and Gregory de Valentia.

One thing is beyond all doubt, that, considering the circumstances under which Spe wrote, we must admire not only his critical spirit,

<sup>101</sup> Janssen-Pastor, VIII., 650-652.

and his burning love for the persecuted victims of a sad superstition, but also his heroic courage. He evidently deserves a place among the great heroes and benefactors of mankind; and if he committed a fault by handing over the manuscript to friends, may we not call it a *felix culpa*?

#### VIII. ATTITUDE OF VARIOUS OTHER JESUITS.

Father Spe mentions repeatedly the confessors of princes, and that not in terms of praise. He censures them especially for being silent, for not warning the princes against the injustice of witch trials. He also reproaches preachers who urge princes to persecute the witches. Among these were some Jesuits, for instance, the Fathers Contzen and Drexelius. Father Adam Contzen, confessor to the Duke of Bavaria, wrote in 1628 a political romance, in which he advocates energetic proceedings against witches.<sup>102</sup> Similar opinions were held by Father Jeremias Drexelius, preacher at the court of Munich. He was a pious man, renowned as an ascetical writer, and Balde, the "Horace of Germany," celebrates him in one of his odes (I., XVI.). *Drexelius* treats of witchcraft in a place where one should hardly expect it. In a work on "Almsgiving," published in 1637, he enumerates the reasons for giving alms; one of them is that it "protects against witchcraft." On this occasion he writes: "Who could have the effrontery to accuse of error and injustice the judges who, with fire and sword, proceed against this pestilential crime of witchcraft? Nevertheless there are cold Christians, scarcely deserving of the name of Christians, who with might and main oppose the extirpation of this vice, lest perhaps, as they say, the innocent might be endangered. O ye enemies of Divine honor! Does not the Divine law expressly command 'Wizards thou shalt not suffer to live?' (Exodus xxii., 18). Here I cry as loud as I can, at the Divine bidding, that Bishops, Princes and Kings may hear it: 'Witches ye shall not suffer to live.' With fire and sword extirpate them. To you, Princes and Kings, the sword has been given, etc."<sup>103</sup>

Probably Drexelius had not read the "Cautio" of Spe. There he would have found himself faithfully depicted among the "holy and pious men who, carried away by zeal rather than by discretion, and, totally ignorant of the reality, deem it criminal to question the justice and honesty of the judges."<sup>104</sup> About the same time another Jesuit, Caspar Hell, opposed the Bishop of Eichstädt in his witch persecution. The Bishop was greatly vexed and complaints were

<sup>102</sup> Duhr, "Stellung," pp. 67-69.

<sup>103</sup> Duhr, "Stellung," pp. 67-71. In Janssen-Pastor, VIII., 653, it is stated: "The only German Jesuit who, as far as can be ascertained, urged the authorities on to witch persecution is George Scherer." It is now known that, aside from Delrio and Valentia, who were Spaniards, Contzen, Drexelius and another to be mentioned hereafter are guilty of having encouraged witch persecution.

<sup>104</sup> See above, pp. 478-479.



made in Rome. The General wrote to the provincial: "Silence Father Hell, lest the Bishop be more exasperated. However, some people are inclined to the other extreme, and meddle in witch trials; if there are any such among the Jesuits, command them to leave this whole affair to the prince and his officials." Father Hell's attitude was so little considered as a fault that a year later, in 1630, the General made him rector of the college at Amberg.<sup>105</sup> In 1656-7 a strange epidemic appeared in Paderborn. Some considered those attacked as witches, who should be burned. The Jesuit *Löper* thought they were possessed and exorcised many. But his proceedings, especially his mode of questioning, were not according to ecclesiastical practice. Protestants and Catholics alike wrote against Father Löper; at last the Bishop begged the General of the Society to remove him, which request was immediately complied with. Löper was a zealous, but very indiscreet and obstinate religious, who had the fixed idea that he was the chosen instrument of God to fight against the power of the devil. At last he published a book in his defense without the permission of superiors. The General of the Society ordered the Provincial to punish Father Löper and to suppress his book as far as possible.<sup>106</sup>

In the beginning of the eighteenth century there was a revival of witch persecution in several places. In Ermland the Jesuits opposed it in their sermons and were decried for their attitude, and at last forbidden to preach against witch trials.<sup>107</sup> Quite different from this manner of acting, a Jesuit saw fit to defend the witch trials some decades later. In 1749, a nun, sub-prioress of a convent near Würzburg, was beheaded and then burnt—for witchcraft it was said. The Protestant historian Menzel writes: "She was not quite guiltless, in as far as she had harassed her sisters with all sorts of phantoms, and besides, by strange potions, had reduced some to a state much like insanity. She was to all appearance a hysterical person."<sup>108</sup> After the execution the Jesuit George *Gaar*, at the bidding of the Prince Bishop of Würzburg, delivered a sermon, much like that of Father Scherer of 1583. All the old nonsense was again rehashed; but *Gaar's* sermon is all the more unpardonable, as two centuries of discussion, and above all the work of his fellow-religious *Spe*, should have made him a little more critical. The Italian *Tartarotti* wrote a sarcastic criticism of the sermon and held it up to the ridicule which it deserved. Be it remarked that in the previous year, 1748, a Pro-

<sup>105</sup> Duhr, "Stellung," p. 72.

<sup>106</sup> See details by Duhr, "Stellung," pp. 78-84. The punishment inflicted on Father Löper is also a proof that the displeasure shown by the General at *Spe's* publication was not due to the character of the book, but to the fact of its having been published without the prescribed approbation.

<sup>107</sup> Duhr, 84-91.

<sup>108</sup> This incident, as well as the Paderborn affair, proves how wisely Father *Spe* had demanded that the physicians should be consulted.

testant Diaconus, Rinder, printed a sermon in which "he urged the necessity of burning witches" and "as a faithful Lutheran, rejected the milder practice advocated by the Jesuits."<sup>109</sup>

#### IX. CONCLUSION.

We have arrived at the end of our study. What have we found? We may sum up the evidence in the words of Father Duhr:

1. "From the beginning the Society rejected the occupation with the 'devil's mysticism' as something dangerous, which, at the same time, prevents more useful labors. This warning of Peter Faber is repeated by the Generals of the Society at different times.

2. "The Society as such took no definite attitude in this matter. The opinion that the Society, as a whole, opposed the witch trials is just as erroneous as the opposite assertion that the Jesuits as such generally urged on to the persecution. The Generals, far distant from the scene, received most contradictory informations; they heard how all secular and ecclesiastical princes proceeded against witches, and it was almost impossible to judge that this was all a most outrageous injustice. Thus they confined themselves to an attitude of neutrality.

"As regards the individual Jesuits, we find the greatest variety of opinions. Some were convinced of the injustice and warned against it; others considered it impossible that so many judicial murders could be committed, and saw in the frequency of condemnations a proof of the frightful extent of witchcraft; and so thought it their duty to raise their voice for the extirpation of the evil. Here we find writers against writers, preacher against preacher, approbation of books against approbation. As it is to the credit of the individual Jesuits, that they, in spite of the general superstition, recognized the injustice of the trials and had the courage to express their conviction, so all those deserved the gratitude of mankind who saved many of these poor women from death, or tried to alleviate the terrible lot of these victims by consoling words and self-sacrificing assistance."

It should be remembered that the Jesuits generally assisted the condemned witches in their last hour, and that the discharge of this duty made them the object of the hatred and suspicion of all those who were relentless in the prosecution.<sup>110</sup> All the more deserving of praise is, therefore, their heroic charity. The number of these men, according to the testimony of contemporary writers, is very great. They represent the attitude of the Society rather than the few individuals who wrote on this question. Further, the real spirit of the Order must be judged from the attitude of the Superiors. Now what do we find here? From the very beginning they were

<sup>109</sup> Menzel, "Geschichte der Deutschen," quoted by Duhr, "Stellung," p. 95.

<sup>110</sup> See above, pp. 478, 479, 480, 482, 485.

strongly opposed to any interference in witch trials; they rebuked and checked those who meddled in these proceedings; nay, more, some Superiors, as the two Provincials Hoffaeus and Bader, manifested a skeptical spirit towards the current popular belief. [See above, pp. 480 and 482.] In the face of such facts it is a flagrant injustice to say, as the Protestant historians Soldan-Heppe and Riezler do, that *the Jesuits* advocated the prosecution of witches.

In regard to the few individuals who, sharing the deplorable views of their age, recommended severe measures, it will be well to remember the words of a recent French writer who cannot be charged with partiality to the Jesuits, M. de Ladevèze, in an article in the *Open Court*, Chicago, January, 1902, endeavored to state "THE Truth about the Jesuits," from an entirely independent point of view. After quoting the eulogies of many Popes on the Society, he continues: "I do not mean to infer that we have not the right to judge the Jesuits from a different point of view to the Popes'. But then even, then especially, we must remember, before so doing, the maxim of Marcus Aurelius: 'There are a thousand circumstances with which we must acquaint ourselves in order to be able to pronounce on the actions of others.' Now if we acquaint ourselves with these 'thousand circumstances,' we end inevitably by recognizing that all the reproaches with which we may feel entitled to load the Jesuits in the name of reason, of philosophy, etc., etc., fall equally upon all Religious Orders, and upon the Church herself of which they have ever been the most brilliant ornament. Why then address these reproaches to the Jesuits only? . . . Let their opponents reproach them with being Catholics, if reproach them they must; but let those of us who are conscious of the injustice of such a reproach, recognize the good in them; as to the rest, *let us remember that they are human, and therefore subject to the faults and failings we all share, but against which they strive far more constantly and efficaciously than do so large a number of ourselves*; so large a number, above all, of those—the race shows no sign of extinction, alas!—who having expended all their severity upon others have nothing but unbounded indulgence at their disposal when it comes to dealing with themselves."<sup>111</sup>

One thing is beyond a doubt: that Protestant historians act unjustly if they blame the Catholic Church in general, or the Dominicans and Jesuits in particular, for persecuting witches. For history rises against them with a stern *Medice sana te ipsum*. No fair-minded Protestant historian denies that Luther's influence was most disastrous in fostering the popular superstition. Calvinism is not less guilty, as we see in the case of Scotland. "Sir Walter Scott has pointed out in his *Letters on Demonology* that the Calvinists were of

<sup>111</sup> The *Open Court*, January, 1902, pp. 28-30.



all sects the most suspicious of sorcery, and the most eager to punish it as a heinous crime. Hence in a country where almost every kind of amusement was suppressed or tabooed, and men's thoughts were concentrated with peculiar energy on theological ideas, the dread of witchcraft was all but universal . . . the terribly numerous witch trials were almost entirely conducted by the clergy, but the 'secular arm' was placed ungrudgingly at their service for execution of the sentence. . . . And it is noticeable, considering what is said of mediæval ignorance and superstition, that the first law against witchcraft in Scotland was passed in 1563, and it was not till thirty years later that it began to be systematically carried out. The persecution was therefore in a very special sense the work of the Presbyterian ministry, or rather of their creed, which, partly from political causes, connected with the history of the Scotch Reformation, was shaped more directly on the lines of the Old than the New Testament. These executions for witchcraft came to an end about 1730, but not apparently by the good will of the Presbytery, who passed a resolution fifty years afterwards deploring the prevalent skepticism on the subject."<sup>112</sup>

And what do we find in this country? The Pilgrim Fathers revived in Massachusetts the panic about witchcraft, at a time when it had practically died out in the Catholic countries of Europe. It is known that the witch persecution in New England was exclusively the work of Puritan ministers, of Cotton Mather, Parris and Noyes. Here "the confessions of the witches began to be directed against the Anabaptists,"<sup>113</sup> *i. e.*, they were used to persecute such as differed in religious views from the ruling ministers. Quite a different picture is presented in Maryland, where the *Jesuits* had planted Catholicity. "The asylum of the Papists," says Bancroft, "was the spot where, in a remote corner of the world . . . the mild forbearance of a proprietary adopted religious freedom as the basis of the state, . . . and there, too, Protestants were sheltered against Protestant intolerance."<sup>114</sup> Here, however, not a single witch was burnt or hanged.

It has been said that the history of the Papacy is its best apology, notwithstanding the most lamentable faults of a few individual Popes. We may justly apply the same maxim to the Society of Jesus: its best apology is its true history, not indeed that caricature which its enemies parade as the history of the Order. The Society can honestly and fearlessly acknowledge the faults and blunders of a few of its members; for it is fully confident that, if its work is

---

<sup>112</sup> "Studies in Ecclesiastical History and Biography." By the Rev. H. N. Oxenham. London: Chapman & Hall, 1884, p. 250.

<sup>113</sup> Bancroft, "Hist. of the U. S.," Vol. III., p. 93 (18 ed. Boston, 1864).

<sup>114</sup> *Ib.*, Vol. I., p. 244-248.

weighed in the balance of impartiality, the scale will incline decidedly in its favor.

A few practical remarks may be added to our historical sketch. Many modern writers who reject the fundamental truths of Christian revelation and deny the existence of a spiritual world beyond this material universe, consistently deny the possibility of a compact with evil spirits. To such men spirits, good or evil, are but the creation of a weak and sickly imagination: "Horatio says 'tis but our fantasy.'" Or they represent the belief in spirits as an invention of priests, who found in these spirits "a very powerful means for terrifying men, or an easy explanation of natural phenomena which they could not explain otherwise."<sup>115</sup> However, we might reply that such a sweeping denial of the existence of spirits is a very easy method of disposing of numerous undeniable facts in the world's history. To upholders of this radical doctrine one may say with Hamlet:

"There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio,  
Than are dreamt of in our philosophy."

The Catholic's view of the question is very different. "No Christian can assert the impossibility of diabolic influences upon mankind; nay, that they are possible is shown by Scripture and tradition; therefore the error of former generations (in regard to witchcraft) was not one of principle; it existed only in the manner of treating particular manifestations."<sup>116</sup> The possibility of such leagues, not, however, the existence of any particular compact, is a matter of belief for the Catholic. Still it cannot be denied that the attitude of the Catholic mind towards the whole question has considerably changed. As Cardinal Hergenroether says, "we know now how much is purely natural which even the most enlightened men of their age formerly accounted supernatural." Besides many particulars, as the belief in the Sabbaths or nightly witch meetings, the belief in *incubus* and *succubus*, which played a most important part in the witch trials, are now rejected either expressly or indirectly by the best Catholic theologians.

However, even now some people are too ready to see the influence of the evil one in events which, although most extraordinary and mysterious, can possibly be explained by natural causes. Father Christian Pesch, S. J., has well said: "*A priori* we ought to be very slow in admitting in a given case that diabolical influence exists unless it is proved by irrefutable arguments. In matters of this kind, the greatest incredulity is preferable to credulity, when there is question of men who make a business of such things. . . . On the other hand, not all narrations about compacts with demons are simply to

<sup>115</sup> So Hansen, "Zauberwahn," etc., p. 3.

<sup>116</sup> Hergenroether, "Church and State," Vol. II., p. 344.

be rejected as fables. If the fact is proved with historical certainty, and if this fact cannot be accounted for by any physical forces nor by any human artifice, then we must reasonably find higher agents in it. It will appear from the circumstances whether God, good angels or evil spirits are these higher agents. But in passing such judgments, the greatest caution is required, because in things so remote from the senses mistakes are very easily made."<sup>117</sup>

Had these principles always been followed, thousands of judicial murders would have been prevented in former ages. Even at the present day it may not be altogether useless to warn against credulity. It suffices to mention the disgraceful Leo Taxil affair. Thousands of educated men, among them prominent ecclesiastics, allowed themselves to be imposed upon by the mystifications of that brazen-faced liar; and those that expressed doubts about Diana Vaughan and the devil Bitru were stigmatized as hypercritical and mild infidels. A year ago Father Grisar spoke of the dishonor which this sad occurrence has brought upon the Catholic name. Indeed but a few months ago a writer in one of the leading reviews in Germany<sup>118</sup> cast reproach on the Catholic Church, because so many Catholics, particularly of the Romanic nations, had been so eager in accepting and so obstinate in defending the monstrous stories of Taxil. The study of this question may, therefore, serve as an earnest appeal to all Catholics to be very critical, whenever there is question of supposed demoniac phenomena.

ROBERT SCHWICKERATH, S. J.

Woodstock, Md.

---

## LEIBNITZ AND THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

THE close of the nineteenth century has naturally enough led many of us to dwell on its chief achievements, in that amiable spirit of eulogy which is a common characteristic of epitaphs and funeral orations. It may be hoped, indeed, that some of this abundant praise had some solid foundation. For it can hardly be denied that the nineteenth century was an age of great men and great movements, an age singularly fertile in art and literature, and distinguished by a marked advance in scientific research and historical criticism. At the same time, the claims put forward by many of our enthusiastic admirers of the "mighty mother age," are, to say the least, somewhat exaggerated. And there is some-

<sup>117</sup> "Praelectiones dogmaticae," Vol. III., n. 415.

<sup>118</sup> "Neue Jahrbücher für das Klassische Altertum, Geschichte und Deutsche Literatur," 1901, I., p. 352.



times a tendency to do less than justice to the work of the eighteenth century, or to the greater lights of earlier periods.

Were it only for this reason, it may not be amiss to take this opportunity of dwelling on the merits of a remarkable writer who in no small measure anticipated much that is best in the movements of modern thought, while his many-sided learning and varied activity are in marked contrast to the narrowness and specialization of some later philosophers. For in truth the life and labors of Godfrey William von Leibnitz convey a lesson that is much needed at this day—the living unity of all truth and of all science. In his capacious mind, the scattered lights of all the sciences were brought together and blended; while his patient industry gathered up the results of the past, and his genius forestalled or foreshadowed the discoveries of the future.

The name of Leibnitz still looms so large in the history of thought and of letters, that it might well seem to be somewhat superfluous to insist on the merits of his writings, which have by this time taken a permanent place among the classics of learned literature. But it must be remembered that works of this kind are not very widely read; and many are content to judge of them at second-hand. Even poets, whose literary form has beauties that no critic or commentator can hope to convey, are sometimes less read than might be supposed from the frequency with which their names are cited. And in the case of books whose main merit is in science and learning, there is more reason for this comparative neglect by later generations. For all and more than all the knowledge imparted in their pages can generally be acquired with greater ease and expedition from more modern manuals. Hence it is likely enough that readers of the works of Leibnitz are by no means numerous. These works, moreover, are so large and so varied that many of those who have occasion to consult them will naturally confine their attention to some particular portion, without attempting to seize their general significance or to note their relation to later movements in science or theology.

When we regard the works of Leibnitz in this light, perhaps the first thing that strikes us is the contrast between the wide range of his learned activity and the narrower limits of later writers. This is partly due to the natural tendency to division of labor and specialization, as the tree of science multiplies its far-spreading branches. But, at the same time, it is largely the result of the catholic character of the author's genius. The history of letters can show many notable instances of universal learning from the days of Pico della Mirandola and the "admirable Crichton." But few if any of these scholars could boast quite the same degree of varied excellence. Sometimes

their efforts only resulted in a multiplicity of imperfect knowledge that recalls the Homeric gibe at Margites,

*Πολλ' ἤπιστατο ἔργα, κακῶς δ' ἤπιστατο πάντα,*

or serves to illustrate the wisdom of Goethe's counsel,

"Wer grosses will muss sich zusammenraffen."

And even where this danger is happily avoided, the real merit is mostly in one line alone, and the author's work in other fields is of little or no importance. It is far otherwise with Leibnitz. His collected works treat of such various topics as Theology, Philosophy, Mathematics, Natural Science, Philology, History and Jurisprudence. And though it may well be that none of the other divisions have quite the same importance as the volume on Mathematics, all are worthy of attentive study. In the spacious writings of this many-sided man we find ourselves, so to say, brought into contact with all the varied knowledge and culture of his time; and what is more, we are able to see the earlier stages of many movements whose force is still felt in our own day.

The varied volumes of these collected works of Leibnitz may be regarded as an abiding proof of the organic unity and the continuous growth of all the sciences. For apart from his own contributions, he had a singular facility in finding out and bringing together the best that was being done, in many different directions, by the leading scholars and thinkers of his time. Some of his correspondents are specialists in various fields of sacred or secular science; and, in such cases, he shows due deference to their authority, and humbly asks for information. At the same time, he can generally see further into the collateral relations of the subject, and seize its significance and importance in the wider world of thought and learning that is often hidden from the eyes of the specialist. Hence we sometimes find him urging some Oriental philologist, or some practical inventor, to go forward in his chosen field of labor. And even after this long lapse of years, we can see enough to understand something of the potent influence of his architectonic genius on the general progress of the sciences.

Some idea of the wide range of his interests, and of his close relations with the leaders of science in all its branches, may be gathered from an enumeration of his chief correspondents, with most of whom he could treat, on almost equal terms, of the varied matters in which they were acknowledged masters. Thus we find him the great rival of Newton in Mathematics, conducting an amicable discussion in Theology with Bossuet, treating of History with Muratori, of Armenian letters with La Croze, and Ethiopic with Ludolf. And in addition to these and many other excursions in various fields of

learning, his attention was engaged by the problems of the higher politics and international jurisprudence. Nor could these multifarious cares prevent him from turning aside to speculate on such minor matters as the origin and principles of games; and we find him urging others to undertake a scientific and methodical treatment of this curious subject.

In some of these many fields, Leibnitz, as his most ardent admirers must allow, can claim at best but a secondary rank; but in Mathematics he was clearly one of the great masters. It is possible, indeed, that some other portions of his writings may surpass it in interest or as historic evidence. But there can be little doubt that the third volume, containing the *Opera Mathematica*, has the highest intrinsic value. And the result of this part of his labor is still felt in many branches of modern science. For even those who have never read a line of Leibnitz must needs avail themselves of the Infinitesimal Calculus, which first took shape in his hands.

As we need hardly remind the reader, the original discovery of this important branch of higher mathematics was long the subject of a somewhat acrimonious controversy between the followers of Leibnitz and those of Newton. But after this lapse of time, and in the light of later experience, we may find a satisfactory solution in allowing the merit of an independent invention to both these illustrious men. For the same thing has happened in the case of Darwin and Wallace; though, here, the coincidence was in some respects more remarkable. In the long run, neither Newton nor Leibnitz suffered from the disputed title. For, while justice was eventually done to all parties, the noise of the controversy only served to give greater prominence to the claims of both inventors. There is much in the long discussion that we can willingly let die; and for this the too zealous friends and followers on either side were largely responsible. But unfortunately this petty sublunary strife has left some trace in the immortal pages of the *Principia*.<sup>1</sup>

As racial rivalry had some part in the dispute, it may be well to add that in his valuable note on the writings of Descartes, Leibnitz does justice to the memory of an early English mathematician, Thomas Harriot, whose fame has been overshadowed by the Analytical Geometry of the French philosopher. It has been suggested that Descartes was indebted to the work of his English predecessor. But possibly this may be another case of coincidence in invention.

---

<sup>1</sup> See the Scholion at the end of Lemma II., lib. II. In the earlier editions of the *Principia* this contained a generous tribute to Leibnitz, and readily recognized the originality of his independent discovery of the calculus. This was afterwards withdrawn and a new Scholion inserted, simply reciting evidence that establishes the priority of Newton's own invention. Cf. the preface to the first edition of the *Optics*, where the author gives his reason for appending the little treatise *De Quadratura Curvarum*.



Though first in its importance, this mathematical work of Leibnitz is by no means the only region in which he comes into contact with our modern science. For his active interest in contemporary researches in natural history, and his suggestive questions on the nature and significance of fossil remains, may be said to foreshadow some later achievements in Geology and Biology. But there is another important work of the nineteenth century that is more plainly anticipated by the labors of Leibnitz—the scientific treatment of historical studies. In this matter he did not content himself by giving encouragement to the efforts of others, or by speculating on the way in which history should be written. And, indeed, if all his original writings and scientific discoveries are left out of consideration, Leibnitz would still deserve to be held in honor for his laborious industry in editing the *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*, the *Scriptores Historiæ Brunsvicensi inservientes* and the *Codex Juris Gentium Diplomaticus*. It may be of interest to add that this last named work seems to have impelled Thomas Rymer to make his valuable and voluminous collection of our own historical documents.

While there is much in the scientific and historical work of Leibnitz that bears a close resemblance to the later labors of the nineteenth century, there is one point which seems at first sight to present a curious and striking contrast. In our own days much of the best work in these fields is distinctly German. And, indeed, the peculiar predominance of German thought and literature is one of the most marked features of the past century. But when Leibnitz began to write, his own country was by no means the chief centre of letters and learning; and most of his great compeers or rivals were French philosophers, Italian historians or English mathematicians. And though Leibnitz himself was a genuine German, it is significant that all his best works were written either in French or in Latin. At first this fact might seem to separate him from the great literary achievements of his countrymen in later days. But, in truth, it was in this very matter that he was in a special way the pioneer of the nineteenth century. It is true that the bulk of his collected works are printed in French or Latin, in which languages they were, for the most part, originally written. But one remarkable piece is preserved in German, though the author himself has taken care to provide it with a French version for the benefit of foreign readers, who in that day could scarcely be expected to understand the original. This is the suggestive and far-seeing "Thoughts on the Perfectioning and Use of the German Language."<sup>2</sup>

If we are not mistaken, this treatise is but little known to modern

---

<sup>2</sup> "Unvorgreiffliche Gedancken, Betreffend die Ausübung und Verbesserung der Teutschen Sprache." Opp. tom. vi., part 2, p. 6.

readers. But it is well worthy the serious attention of all students of literary history. It may perhaps be considered the Teutonic counterpart to Dante's treatise *De Volgare Eloquenza*. We may especially commend it to the attention of those who are endeavoring to revive or extend the use of other national idioms. For it should certainly serve as an encouragement to be reminded that in the early eighteenth century the German language was threatened by the encroachments, and by the corrupting influence, of foreign forms of speech; that it was for the most part confined to matters of common daily life, and that the chief German thinker of the age set himself to find some means for taking away this reproach and making the language more fit for further use in the higher fields of literature. For never was labor more successful, or hopes more happily and abundantly fulfilled.

In the century that lay behind him, Leibnitz could see that his countrymen had shown their prowess in the field of battle; but instead of letting them rest on these laurels, he boldly proclaimed that they must achieve similar triumphs in the peaceful realm of thought and of letters. To those who first read the tract, this might well seem an idle boast. But the words bear a different meaning to readers of to-day, who can look back across the rich regions of literature left us by the great German poets, philosophers and historians of the last century. Two hundred years ago Leibnitz was constrained to write in French or Latin, though he could already see the latent powers of his own vernacular. And now, as Mr. Morley justly says, to be ignorant of German "is to be without one of the literary senses."

In this paper on the German language, Leibnitz shows something of the prophetic vision of genius. At the same time, his suggestions are eminently practical, and he is free from any trace of pedantic purism. With all his confidence in the powers of the German tongue, he is ready to allow the retention or, if so be, the adoption of foreign words that have no natural equivalent in the vernacular. But he wisely wishes that, where it is possible, these deficiencies may be supplied from the neglected stores of old German literature; or, failing this, from the speech of the kindred races.

Here, as elsewhere in his writings, we can see that Leibnitz is anticipating some of the triumphs of modern science. Comparative Philology was as yet unborn. The treasures of early German literature were still to be explored by the labors of Jacob Grimm and other kindred spirits; while the inauguration of Sanskrit studies and the brilliant suggestions of Schlegel's *Sprache und Weisheit der Indier* were to set the Teutonic in its true place in the family of Indo-European languages. Much of all this was necessarily hidden from

the eyes of Leibnitz. And, indeed, one of his most learned contemporaries was even then engaged on the hopeless enterprise of deducing all languages from the Hebrew. But while he was not altogether exempt from the limitations of his time, Leibnitz yet shows a just discernment, we may perhaps say an instinctive presentiment in his writings on these topics. And it is hardly too much to say that the germ of the Indo-European conception is already present in his pages. He has at any rate arrived at the root idea that German, Latin, Greek and Celtic are a group of kindred languages. It is pleasant to add, in this connection, that he seems to take a special interest in promoting the study of Welsh and Irish; and he may thus be reckoned as one of the pioneers of the Celtic Renaissance. Nor is the Eastern element altogether wanting. For he gladly avails himself of the suggestion of a contemporary Orientalist, that there is some family likeness between German and Persian. Moreover, his remarks on other forms of speech are often singularly just; and we find him already acquainted with the connection between Finnish and Hungarian.

Before leaving this subject, it may be well to mention a fact which is enough to show that this great writer's service to science has not been forgotten by those who have entered into the fruits of his labors. In an international Congress of the Scientific Academies of Europe, held at Paris last year, it was decided to promote the publication of a full edition of the writings of Leibnitz, in a series of no less than one hundred and forty volumes. In recording this remarkable tribute, a writer in our able Hungarian contemporary, the *Katholikus Szemle*, justly says that it was well deserved, were it only for the fact that Leibnitz, whose genius had enlightened the kingdom of the sciences, clearly saw, two centuries ago, the need of that international collaboration which is now accomplished by the associated Scientific Academies.<sup>3</sup>

In the field of Philosophy the work of Leibnitz was scarcely less important; but though it is by no means forgotten, it cannot be said that it is generally appreciated at its true value. His name, indeed, is duly mentioned in the most meagre history of philosophy, and our scholastic text-books usually give at least some brief space to the thesis, "Falsum est systema Leibnitii," or some equivalent condemnation. Like other modern philosophers, he is generally judged by the merits or demerits of his peculiar "system." And curiously

<sup>3</sup> "E kimagasló tudós, aki lángelméjének fényével óriási területen világította be a tudományok birodalmát, ha nem is voltak volna a tudomány fejlődésére századokra kiható eszméi, mégis megérdemelte volna az akadémiák nemzetközi szövetkezete részéről ezt a kitüntetést, mert ő már 200 évvel ezelőtt látta be a nemzetközi szövetkezés szükségességét bizonyos föladatok megoldására és már akkor indítványozta azt, ami az akadémiák szövetkezetében most tényyné vált." Székely Karoly, in the *Katholikus Szemle*, February, 1902, p. 149.



enough, while Catholic writers count him as one of the first founders and begetters of new and dangerous doctrines, he is regarded by others as one of the chief representatives of the orthodox philosophy that was stricken down by the keen blast of Kantian criticism. It is no part of our purpose to put in any plea on behalf of the system of Leibnitz, and, in any case, we would fain take the facts as they are, and we have no wish to attenuate or explain away any of its faults or failings. But the very circumstance that it is thus open to attacks from such different quarters may seem to suggest that it is neither so conservative nor so dangerous as it is described by these conflicting critics.

Be this as it may, there can, we fancy, be little doubt that Leibnitz himself stands, so to say, on neutral ground, between the old and the new philosophies. And his readers are brought into contact with the great thinkers of all the ages. In a word, we find him exerting that constructive and unitive force which is his chief and best characteristic in the field of philosophy as it is in that of the sciences. Here as elsewhere his estimate is often, and necessarily, imperfect. And some of his attempts at comprehension or generalization are possibly a little premature. But it was no mean merit to grasp the great idea of philosophic unity and to look for light in the pages of the despised mediæval schoolmen, in a day when those who aspired to keep abreast with the progress of the age were all too ready to disparage the work of their predecessors.

Even at the present hour, when science and philosophy have made such vast and rapid strides, and so much has been done to illustrate the darker pages of the past, we fear that there are many who still stand in need of the lesson left by Leibnitz. But this lesson is almost necessarily lost on those who only know him by some brief account of his distinctive system or have at best some acquaintance with some of his more important writings. To catch the spirit of his broad and liberal philosophy the reader must reckon with many of his stray pieces, more especially with those instructive letters to M. Remond de Montmort, wherein he tells of his own studies and shows us how he regarded the great writers who had gone before him.

In the first of these letters there is a striking instance of the interest that Leibnitz felt in the problems of philosophy, at an age when the boy's mind is mostly bent on other matters. When only fifteen years old he wandered alone in a wood near Leipsic debating within himself as to whether or no he should admit the existence of "substantial forms."

"Etant enfant j'appris Aristote, et même les Scholastiques ne me rebutèrent point; et je n'en suis point fâché présentement. Mais

Platon aussi dès lors avec Plotin me donnèrent quelque contentement, sans parler d'autres Anciens que je consultai. Par après étant émancipé des Ecoles triviales, je tombai sur les Modernes; et je me souviens que je me promenai seul dans un bocage auprès de Leipsic, appelé le *Rosendal*, à l'âge de 15. ans, pour délibérer si je garderois les Formes substantielles. Enfin le Mécanisme prévalut et me porta à m'appliquer aux Mathématiques." (Opp. tom. v., p. 8.)

We have good reason to be thankful that the young Leibnitz betook himself to the study of the science that owes so much to the light of his genius. But in spite of his speedy success and the natural attraction of the subject for his eminently mathematical mind, he was unable to find satisfaction in the mechanical philosophy. And his researches in mechanics and the laws of motion carried him back to Metaphysics, to the Entelechies and to the Platonic ideas. Hence arose his own system of the *Monads*, or ultimate simple substances, which was, in fact, an attempt to supply the necessary metaphysical basis for mathematical science. But though this system seems to have satisfied the all too partial judgment of its author, it will scarcely find many defenders at the present day, and it must be regarded as at best a fleeting phase in the historical evolution of philosophy.

But what was far more important than the system itself was the pregnant principle in which it had its origin. Disappointed by the idealism of the ancients and the mechanism of the moderns, Leibnitz came to see that the solution must be sought in a larger philosophy which should bring together in one the scattered elements of truth to be found in all the various systems. "J'ai trouvé que la plupart des Sectes ont raison dans une bonne partie de ce qu'elles avancent, mais non pas tant en ce qu'elles nient." (Ibid, p. 9.) And again, on the point at issue between the Greek "Formalists," as he calls them, and the modern materialists, he says:

"Je me flatte d'avoir pénétré l'Harmonie des differens régnes, et d'avoir vu que les deux partis ont raison, pourvu qu'ils ne se choquent point; que tout se fait mécaniquement et métaphysiquement en même tems dans les phénomènes de la nature, mais que la source de la mécanique est dans la métaphysique."

And, in marked contrast to those whose mental horizon is confined to the ideas of one school or party, he says with equal justice and eloquence:

"La vérité est plus répandue qu' on ne pense; mais elle est très-souvent fardée, et très-souvent aussi enveloppée, et même affoiblie, mutilée, corrompue par des additions qui la gâtent ou la rendent moins utile. En faisant remarquer ces traces de la vérité dans les Anciens, ou pour parler plus généralement, dans les antérieurs, on tireroit l'or de la boue, le diamant de sa mine, et la

lumière des ténébres; et ce seroit en effet *perennis quaedam Philosophia*." (Ibid, p. 13.)

It would be well if this same principle could be applied, with like courage and candor, to the wider field of philosophy open to our view to-day, when large tracts of ancient literature have been more thoroughly explored and some new lights have risen above the horizon. But, unhappily, the tendency to party strife and sects and schisms in philosophy is still with us. Leibnitz himself was not wholly free from its influence; for his attempt at comprehension only resulted in the creation of a fresh system, and some of his remarks on the opinions of Newton and Descartes are scarcely in keeping with his own broad and generous principles. But, at least, he felt the need of conciliation and union of forces, and he entered a timely protest against the tendency to division and internecine feuds among the philosophers.

This aspect of the Leibnitian philosophy will naturally appeal to the sympathies of Catholic readers. But they will probably feel a yet deeper interest in the author's labors for peace and reunion in the field of Theology. The intrinsic worth of his theological volumes may not reach the high level of some of his other writings. For whereas he is admittedly one of the great masters of mathematical science, he can scarcely claim the same rank among theologians. At the same time, the tentative and transitional character of his doctrine would alone suffice to prevent him from becoming a classic authority in any body of religionists. Among the most notable of his works in this field is his long and interesting correspondence with Bossuet and some others, on a project for healing the breach caused by the Lutheran disruption. These efforts, we venture to think, deserve more attention than they have hitherto received at the hands of historians. If some of the reasoning of Leibnitz in this matter is vitiated by what seems an inadequate conception of Catholic ecclesiastical unity and authority, this is scarcely surprising, when we remember the disturbing influence exerted by the presence of Gallicanism. And we may well wonder that the large-minded German Protestant could get so near to the true position.

In a more speculative field the keen insight and the patient impartiality of Leibnitz enabled him to appreciate and vindicate the beauty and harmony of our doctrinal and sacramental system, which is too often misjudged and distorted by captious controversialists. And in a different direction, his Catholic sympathies are shown by some of his comments on a project for ensuring perpetual peace, put forward by the Abbé de S. Pierre. In his brief but instructive paper on this subject Leibnitz looks back with regret to the days of the lost mediæval polity, when the Popes in some measure realized the



modern dreams of a common court of arbitration to keep the peace of Europe. And he considers that there was still a possibility of preserving this after the Council of Constance:

"Cependant je crois que s'il y avoit eu des papes en grande réputation de sagesse et de vertu, qui eussent voulu suivre les mesures prises à Constance, ils auroient remédié aux abus, prévenu la rupture, et soutenu, ou même avancé davantage la Société Chrétienne." (Opp. tom. v., p. 56.)

There is much in all this to awaken the sympathy of the Catholic reader. But at the same time there is something painfully pathetic in this approximation of Leibnitz to the Church which after all he never entered, and in all these unavailing efforts to accomplish a reunion. Yet when we look on the one hand at his relations with modern science and historical criticism, and on the other at the great Catholic Revival of the nineteenth century, the attitude of Leibnitz in this matter appears in a very different aspect. It is seen to be something of deeper import than the position of an individual however eminent, and instead of leaving us with a painful impression of failure, it may well seem to be a hopeful presage of ultimate triumph. For here, as elsewhere, Leibnitz may rightly be regarded as the harbinger of the future. He was moving in the main stream of historic evolution, and his large learning and varied interests kept him from being swept aside by eddies of individual eccentricity, or stranded by the backwash of reaction. Schisms and heresies arise in many ways, but for the most part they are caused and sustained by errors of fact and false views of history, which must disappear in the light of a larger knowledge. The real source of danger lies in ignorance, or in the proverbial "little learning." For heresy is ever in the part; but the whole is Catholic. In his own famous phrases, this is the "sufficient reason" of the strong strain of Catholicism which appears in the writings of Leibnitz, and serves to illustrate the "preëstablished harmony" between the vast body of human science and the spirit of Revealed Religion.

W. H. KENT, O. S. C.

London, England.

## THE ANCIENT CATHEDRALS OF SCOTLAND.

## PART III.

THE quaint little gray town of Dornoch, the seat of the Bishopric of Caithness, stands on the north side of the mountain-girt Frith of Dornoch, nearly opposite the town of Tain on the southern shore. It has dwindled down to little better than a village, though it was once the centre of ecclesiastical life for all the surrounding district. Its name, according to one derivation, signifies "Horse's Hoof."<sup>1</sup> It is said that when a Danish chief made a descent on the coast in 1259, the Earl of Caithness, who was taking part in the defense against the invader, had the misfortune to break his sword. In default of any better weapon he seized the leg of a dead horse from the battle-field and with it slew the leader of the Danes. Tradition points to the site of the King's Cross at Embo, about a mile from the town, as the scene of the occurrence, and a horseshoe figures prominently in the arms of the burgh, in memory, as it is believed, of the extraordinary victory.<sup>2</sup>

The see of Caithness was originally founded during the reign of Malcolm III., the husband of St. Margaret, about the year 1066. The chief church of the diocese was at one time a small building dedicated in honor of St. Finbar, an Irish saint of the sixth century, who labored as a missionary in Scotland. It remained for the holy Bishop Gilbert de Moray to build at his own cost a more worthy cathedral and to constitute a Chapter.

Bishop Gilbert was a member of the noble family of Moray, being the son of William, Lord of Duffus. He filled the see for twenty years, to the great edification of his flock. His life was illustrious for miracles, and after his death he was honored as a saint—the last Scot placed upon the Calendar before the Reformation.

The church raised by this holy bishop was a cruciform building, consisting of a nave with aisles, transepts, central tower and low spire. It measured about 126 feet in length and 97 feet across the transepts. In style it was Early English, with massive circular pillars. The good bishop worked with his own hands in the erection of the cathedral and superintended the manufacture of the necessary glass for the windows at his glassworks at Sideray.

St. Gilbert formed his Chapter on the model of that of Lincoln, the rite of that church being followed in the ceremonial of the services. The dignitaries and canons numbered ten and there were in addition

<sup>1</sup> "New Statistical Account of Scotland," Vol. XV.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* Besides that work, the chief source of information regarding Dornoch Cathedral has been "*Origines Parochiales Scotiæ*," Vol. II., part 2.

many Vicars Choral or minor ecclesiastics to assist in the celebration of the sacred offices. On account of the close connection between the Abbey of Scone and Caithness, the abbot of that house was always a canon of the chapter, though he was dispensed from the duty of residence.

We gain some idea of the state of things before St. Gilbert's time from the fact that three of his immediate predecessors in the see were either burned or stoned to death by the half-savage people over whom they tried to rule, in revenge for what was looked upon as an excess of zeal in the carrying out of their pastoral duties. Bishop Adam, his predecessor, who was rigid in the exaction of his ecclesiastical dues, was shut up in his house by an infuriated mob at Halkirk, in 1222, and burned to death there. Alexander II., then on his way to England, turned back at the news of this barbarous outrage and marching to Dornoch, took summary vengeance on the delinquents; no less than four hundred persons, who had been concerned in the murder were punished with death on the occasion.<sup>3</sup> Such were the people upon whom St. Gilbert's saintly life and generous benefactions were to produce such a wonderfully civilizing effect. The holy bishop died in 1245 and was buried beneath the central tower of his cathedral. A century after the church which he had designated St. Mary's had become known as that of St. Mary and St. Gilbert.

Some particulars concerning the more important bishops who filled this see may be of interest. Bishop Alan, thought by some to have been an Englishman, was made Lord Chancellor in 1291. He swore allegiance to Edward I., who at that time was claiming superiority over Scotland. Bishop Andrew Stewart, who had been previously Abbot of Fearn, held the see in 1490. He became Lord Treasurer of the kingdom. Robert Stewart, brother to the Earl of Lennox, was appointed bishop in 1542, while a young man of 25. He was not even a priest, nor did he ever become one, for being implicated in the rebellion of his brother, he was obliged to absent himself from the kingdom for more than twenty years, and on his return he joined the party of Reformers and became a Protestant. He, nevertheless, enjoyed the revenues till his death. It is amusing to a Catholic to learn that although a married man and with no pretense to orders, he was named as one of the consecrating bishops in the ceremony of the consecration of the Protestant occupant of the see of St. Andrews in the year 1571. This Robert Stewart succeeded his nephew in the earldom of Lennox in 1576, but resigned in favor of a grandnephew, receiving instead the title of Earl of March.

Pope Pius II. conferred upon the cathedral church of Dornoch the special privilege of Sanctuary. By a Bull, granted early in his

---

<sup>3</sup> Vide "Tales of a Grandfather" (Scott), Vol. I., chap. 5.



Pontificate, he declared that, in honor of God, the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Gilbert, the space of three miles in all directions around that church should enjoy "a certain sacred immunity." James III., in 1464, "at the pious and just request of his counsellor, William, Bishop of Caithness, and his clergy and desiring to sanction and defend the same sacred immunity," commanded all to preserve it inviolate.<sup>4</sup>

Few occurrences of general historical interest can be related of this see, up to the disastrous period when the Reformation was brought about. Some three hundred years after its completion, the cathedral was set on fire in a fray between the Morays and the Master of Caithness and was almost entirely destroyed. This happened in 1570. The tower and a few ruined arches, the sole remains of St. Gilbert's building, received some additions, through the generosity of the Earl of Sutherland, in 1614, to enable the church to serve as a place of Protestant worship. The Earl had received from James VI. in 1601 the grant of all the lands of the bishopric.

The restored building was afterwards modified to make it more suitable for Presbyterian use by the addition of a wooden floor, about seven feet above the ground; a flat ceiling and a gallery were constructed in 1816, so that little resemblance was left to St. Gilbert's original church. In 1835 the Duchess of Sutherland began a restoration, upon which some £6,000 (about \$30,000) were expended. "The work," says Dr. Robertson, "unhappily was not entrusted to competent hands;"<sup>5</sup> the result is, as another authority describes it, "a mixture of Gothic and Vandalism."

The square tower of the Bishop's Palace was converted into the County Jail. A strongly vaulted building to the north of the choir, supposed to have been the Chapter House, was long used as a prison.

The relics of St. Gilbert were preserved and venerated up to the Reformation; for in 1545 John Gray of Kilmaly, Marquhard Murray and Walter Murray "swore on the relics of St. Gilbert" and "deponed on their oath, touching the same relics,"<sup>6</sup> in the Chapter House of the cathedral, to clear themselves of charges brought against them. A mutilated statue, supposed to represent the saint, is still to be seen at Dornoch.

The foundation of the see of Galloway dates back to the time of St. Ninian, who was consecrated bishop by Pope St. Siricius and sent to preach the Christian faith in that district towards the end of the fourth century. The first stone church ever built in the country was that raised by the saint after the fashion of the buildings he had seen in Rome. It stood on the promontory now known as the Isle

<sup>4</sup> Regis. Mag. Sigil., Rolls Series, 1464, No. 802.

<sup>5</sup> Robertson, "Scottish Abbeys and Cathedrals," p. 49.

<sup>6</sup> Orig. Paroch., p. 609.

of Whithorn, about three miles from the town of that name. Its gleaming white walls—probably plastered with lime—gained for the humble sanctuary the name of Whithern (“white house”), a designation which extended to the surrounding district in later ages and is still perpetuated in the official title of the see of Galloway—Candida Casa—as well as in the corrupted form of the old Saxon name borne by the town of Whithorn.

St. Ninian called his church after St. Martin, the great Bishop of Tours, whom he had visited on his way from Rome, who had supplied him with masons for the work and who had passed to his heavenly reward while the church was building which was destined to become a model of ecclesiastical architecture and a theological centre for the kingdom of the Southern Picts.

The original building raised by St. Ninian no longer exists. A small chapel, afterwards built on its site, perpetuated its memory; some ruins of the latter may still be seen. Another church was probably erected by the saint on the spot where the remains of the mediæval cathedral still stand. In this second church his body was enshrined after death.

It was under the auspices of the devout King David I. that the see was formally erected. Fergus, Lord of Galloway, founded at Whithorn a monastery of Premonstratensian or White Canons, in 1143, and these Canons were constituted the Cathedral Chapter by King David. The cathedral erected in the twelfth century is now in so ruinous a condition that it is difficult to determine its style or dimensions. The nave, which is the only portion remaining, is without aisles and measures about 75 feet in length and 38 in width. The total length of the building must have been some 225 feet, independent of the western tower. The church was terminated by a Lady Chapel and there were extensive transepts, for the foundations of one of them, in twelfth century architecture, have been laid bare in recent years. The tower was surmounted by a steeple, which fell early in the eighteenth century. Eastern and western walls were built to the nave to fit it for the use of the Presbyterian community as a place of worship, and thus the original style of the building has been entirely changed. Extensive crypts still exist under the choir and eastern portions. The conventual buildings must have been of considerable size, but merely traces of their ruins, covering a large extent of ground, are now discernible.<sup>7</sup>

The glory of Whithorn consisted in the shrine of St. Ninian, the apostle of the district. To his tomb flocked crowds of pilgrims from England and Ireland as well as from all parts of Scotland. So pop-

<sup>7</sup> These details are gleaned from the carefully restored ground-plan of the cathedral in Vol. X., p. 171, of “Archæological Collections of Ayr and Wigton.” That work, together with Chalmers’ “Caledonia,” Vol. V., supplied the information given concerning Whithorn.

ular was the saint that Whithorn became the most famous of the Scottish pilgrimages during the Ages of Faith. It needed special legislation after the Reformation to curb the expression of their love for such shrines on the part of the people; in the seventh Parliament of James VI. an act was passed forbidding such visits "to Chapelles, Welles, Croces and sik uther monuments of Idolatrie" under the penalty of heavy fines for the first offense, "And for the second fault, the offenders to suffer the pane of death as idolaters."<sup>8</sup> Such a cruel and iniquitous law was the most effectual preventive of the continuance of pilgrimages to Whithorn or any other Scottish shrine; and from the date of its passing we naturally find little mention of such practices of devotion. The conventual buildings attached to the cathedral met the same fate as those belonging to other religious orders, and the church itself, unsuited to the requirements of Presbyterianism, was left to decay. When a small portion of the building was made use of for that purpose, the remainder became, as in too many other cases, a mere quarry for building stone, at the mercy of any one who chose to carry off materials for their own use. Whatever may have befallen the sacred relics enshrined there, it is consoling to know that at least an arm of St. Ninian escaped the wreck of everything sacred at the disastrous period of the Reformation. Such a relic, through the efforts of the Countess of Linlithgow, a faithful Catholic, assisted by an ecclesiastic named Alexander Macquarry and Fr. Alexander Seton, a Jesuit, was safely conveyed to the Scots College at Douai.<sup>9</sup> Its subsequent history, owing to Revolution troubles, is unknown.

Few of the bishops of this see were men of unusual distinction. Bishop Thomas (1296) swore fealty to Edward I., but, like so many other Scottish ecclesiastics of that period, promptly veered round to the Bruce when he came to power. Alexander (1426), who is called by the historian Boece, a noble and learned man, "*vir nobilis et eruditus*," was employed in an embassy to England. He is said to have resigned his see in 1451. His successor, Thomas Spens, a man of great prudence, was also of service to his sovereign in a similar way; besides assisting to negotiate the marriage treaty of the Duke of Savoy with Princess Anabella, sister to James II., he was one of the ambassadors to England to conclude a truce in 1451. He was soon after created Keeper of the Privy Seal. The last of the Catholic bishops of this see, Alexander Gordon, promptly embraced the doctrines of the Reformers. He married and left the revenues of the see to his son, to whom they were confirmed by royal charter.<sup>10</sup>

The diocese of Galloway possessed in the beginning but slender

<sup>8</sup> Acts of Parl., James VI., October 24, 1581.

<sup>9</sup> Bellesheim, "*Geschichte der Kath. Kirche in Schott.*," Vol. I., p. 15.

<sup>10</sup> Keith's "*Scottish Bishops*" is the authority for the details of the above paragraph.



revenues, though the offerings of the numerous pilgrims to St. Ninian's tomb contributed largely to its yearly income. James IV., however, annexed to it in 1504 the deanery of the Chapel Royal at Stirling, and some years later added the possessions of the abbey of Tongland, another house of White Canons in Galloway.

It is difficult to realize the glories of this once famous church, for nothing is left of the fabric but a mere heap of ruins, in addition to the little ivy-clad chapel, which represents the former nave of the cathedral. Yet in the middle ages, before heresy had stripped it of all beauty and stateliness, it must have witnessed many a gorgeous pageant. The later Scottish Kings were conspicuous in their devotion to the shrine which it contained. James IV. made frequent pilgrimages to Whithorn during the whole of his reign. The Treasurer's Accounts of his time give many particulars of these visits. Thus we learn from that source that the King left Edinburgh in September, 1497, taking the usual route by Biggar, through Upper Clydesdale and across Nithsdale and on to Whithorn by way of Wigton. At the shrine, besides his usual offerings, he gave £10, a considerable sum of money in those days, for Masses for himself. The next April he was there once more. In April, 1501, he again visited the shrine, passing through Kirkcudbright, where he gave a donation to the church and presented the friars with £5 12s. to enable them to buy a Pyx. In the following June he was once more at Whithorn; in August 1502, April and May 1503, June 1504, July 1505, April 1506 and again in August of the same year he visited St. Ninian's and performed his accustomed devotions. In 1506, when his Queen, Margaret Tudor, was in danger of death at the birth of her first-born son, James made a pilgrimage on foot from Edinburgh to Whithorn to pray for her recovery. In the following July, both King and Queen repaired to the same shrine to return thanks for the favor granted in the restoration of Margaret to health. Their Majesties were accompanied by a numerous retinue; the Queen traveled in a litter and no less than seventeen horses were employed for the transport of her wardrobe and the furniture of her chapel. James V. in like manner made frequent pilgrimages to the shrine and in a style of equal magnificence.

It is from the Treasurer's record of these royal visits that we learn incidentally of a miracle which the saint obtained for one of his clients; in one of the pilgrimages of James IV. that King gave 18s. in alms to an English pilgrim who had been favored with a cure. From all this, Whithorn's popularity is clear; the renown of its shrine and the high standing of the Order of Canons who served as its ministers are proofs that it must have held an important place among Scottish cathedrals in its time. But like its material remains, its records, too, are of the scantiest. It is left to the imagination to picture with

what skill it may the scenes which might have been witnessed in its hallowed precincts in days gone by—the crowds of fervent worshippers, the brilliant retinues of royal or noble pilgrims, the solemn and stately celebration of the daily choir offices by the white robed canons, clad in their graceful robes of furred white serge. But, like all scenes of earthly splendor and beauty, these, too, have passed away, never, perchance, to be renewed.

The see of Argyll<sup>11</sup> had its origin in the thirteenth century. It has been already mentioned in the account of Dunkeld Cathedral, that one of its bishops relinquished that part of his territory in which Gaelic was spoken, in order that a new diocese might be constituted. The Holy See, accordingly, erected the Bishopric of Argyll, the Gaelic-speaking ecclesiastic Harold, chaplain to the prelate of Dunkeld, being appointed its first bishop. At first the seat of the new bishopric seems to have been in the district of Muckairn, near Loch Etive. Later on, however, the Bishop of The Isles petitioned for the severance of the Island of Lismore from his diocese, that it might form the seat of that of Argyll; this was, accordingly, done in 1236.<sup>12</sup>

Lismore is an island of Loch Linnhe, ten miles long and less than two miles broad. Its name, which signifies "The Great Garden," designates the extreme richness of its soil; for it is a fertile region amid districts of comparative barrenness. An ancient church dedicated to St. Moluag, the original Apostle of the island, stood on the seashore, marking the spot where that saint had first landed. Its remains are still pointed out. The Cathedral of St. Moluag was erected further inland, about three miles from the northern end of the island. From the small portion that remains, it appears to have been built in the fourteenth century; it may well be, therefore, that it superseded either the old church on the shore or another on the present site. Originally its dimensions were 137 feet in length by 29 in width; at the present day the existing building measures no more than 56 feet long and is thought to be merely the choir of the old cathedral. One authority, it is true, entertains the opinion that the church was never larger than at present. Dr. Robertson speaks of it as "perhaps the humblest cathedral in Britain."<sup>13</sup> A local parish minister, however, writing in 1789, alludes to the church as the former choir and states that in 1749 it was repaired and lowered in height. Its style of architecture he describes as fourteenth century decorated.<sup>14</sup>

There are traces of Chapter House and Sacristy on the north-east side and the Piscina and Sedilia are still remaining in the Sanctuary

<sup>11</sup> The chief authorities relied upon in the description of this cathedral are "*Orig. Paroch.*," Vol. II., pt. I., and "*New Statis. Acct.*," Vol. VII.

<sup>12</sup> Skene, "*Celtic Scotland*," Vol. II., p. 409, and Theiner, "*Monumenta*," p. 23.

<sup>13</sup> "*Abbeys and Cathedrals*," p. 78.

<sup>14</sup> Letter of Rev. D. McNicol, quoted in "*Orig. Paroch.*"

near the site of the former altar. The ruins of a castle, once the residence of the bishops, are to be seen in the vicinity of the church.

The third prelate of this see, Bishop William, was drowned in a storm in 1241, when he had ruled the diocese only one year. No successor was appointed for the space of seven years. When, at length, Pope Innocent IV., in 1249, directed the bishops of Glasgow and Dunblane to take steps for filling the vacancy, he desired that the seat of the bishopric should be removed to a more convenient spot than "that island in the sea" upon which it was then situated, since, on account of the stormy channel which separated it from the mainland, and which it was impossible to cross without danger, the island was practically inaccessible. This mandate, however, must have been afterwards retracted, for it was never carried into effect.

About the middle of the thirteenth century a regularly constituted Chapter was established. It consisted of Dean, Archdeacon, Chancellor, Precentor and Treasurer, together with a certain number of Canons. From the manuscript antiquarian notes of Fr. Augustin Hay, a Canon Regular of the eighteenth century, we gain some idea of the canonical dress worn at the choir offices. In the summer it consisted of a linen surplice with an almuce (a small tippet with a hood attached) over the shoulders. During the winter months this was changed for a long linen surplice or alb, reaching to the feet and over it a violet choir cope. The usual choir copes of canons and collegiate clergy were of black material; the Chapter of this cathedral enjoyed the special privilege of wearing violet, which had been forbidden to ordinary ecclesiastics by one of the Councils of the Church.

It may be noticed that one of the Deans of this Chapter, Sir James Macgregor, was the author of a Latin chronicle relating to the Highlands up to the year 1542. The manuscript of this work, still preserved in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, is contained in a volume comprised of a miscellaneous collection of prose and poetry in Latin, Scottish and Gaelic; the pieces in the latter language are considered to be the oldest specimens in existence of the written language of the Scottish Gael.

The church at Lismore was suffered to fall into ruins after the Reformation, only the small portion forming the original chancel being reserved for the purposes of Presbyterian worship.

On the church glebe there formerly stood a small building which gave the right of "Sanctuary" to any one who should take refuge within it when flying from pursuers, even though they should be the lawful representatives of justice.

Some curious customs prevailed at Lismore in later times which are worthy of notice here. The ancient burying ground is situated on a knoll near the old church. At the summit of the rising ground



formerly stood a stone cross, whose pedestal is still to be seen, though the sacred symbol itself has disappeared; the place, nevertheless, is commonly known as "The Cross." Here, up to the beginning of the last century, it was the custom to proclaim the Banns of Marriage pertaining to the parish. The friends of the contracting parties used to assemble on Sunday morning and amid the cheers of the company the clerk would make the necessary announcements. The assembly would then adjourn to a public house and spend the whole day in drinking, which not unfrequently ended in fighting. It has always been the custom here to celebrate marriages in the church and never at the house of the bride's relatives, as in some parts of Scotland.

A curious practice prevailed at Lismore, some fifty years back, with regard to baptisms. As a rule, they formerly took place on a week-day and all the persons present were regarded as sponsors. The father of the infant went round to everyone and placed the child in the arms of each in succession. This custom has probably disappeared in later times.

An interesting relic of Catholic Lismore is in the possession of the Duke of Argyll. This is the pastoral staff of St. Moluag, the patron of the old Cathedral. A small freehold property, formerly twelve acres in extent, but latterly only six, was held for centuries by a family named Livingstone in recompense for the custody of the relic, which was known as the "Bachuill More;" from this circumstance the Livingstones were called in the district the "Barons of Bachuill." The staff is of wood with a curved head; it was originally covered with plates of copper which were probably gilt. The metal, with the exception of small fragments, is now torn off.

Lismore possesses Catholic memories of Post-Reformation date, as well as those of an earlier period. Bishop John Chisholm, Vicar Apostolic of the Highland District with the title of Bishop of Oria (1792-1814), established a small seminary on the island for the education of clerical students. He died there in 1814 and was buried at Lismore. His brother, Aeneas, was consecrated at the seminary in 1805 as Coadjutor, with the title of Bishop of Diocesarea; he also died at Lismore and was buried there in 1818.<sup>15</sup> The seminary was amalgamated by Bishop Paterson with that of Aquhorties in Aberdeenshire, the two establishments being transferred to Blairs near Aberdeen in 1831. Very few, if any, Catholics are now to be found upon the island.

The last in order of all the Scottish cathedrals, that of Iona, became the seat of a bishopric only a few years before the overthrow of the Catholic religion in Scotland. It was in 1498 that James IV.

---

<sup>15</sup> "Dictionary of National Biog."

petitioned Pope Alexander VI. to annex the See of the Isles to the abbacy of Iona; henceforth both dignities rested upon the same person.<sup>16</sup>

The circumstances which led to the change were these. The See of the Isles, founded about the year 838, comprised all the western islands, including the Isle of Man. As these formerly belonged to Norway, they continued under the jurisdiction of the Norwegian Metropolitan, even after their restoration to Scotland in 1266. When, in the fourteenth century, the Isle of Man, the seat of bishopric, was seized by the English, the cathedral of St. German was lost by Scotland and this led to the establishment of a Scottish bishop for the remaining isles, Man becoming subject henceforth to the English ecclesiastical authorities up to the period of the Reformation. The English title of the see, perpetuated even in Protestant times, is Sodor and Man. This is a remnant of the old state of things; the islands lying below the Ardnamurchan Point, on the west coast of Scotland, had always been known as the "Sudreys," to distinguish them from the "Nordreys" or northern islands, and hence the bishop became known as the Bishop of Sodor. The addition to the title was made when Man was separated from the rest.

Whether Iona was at once made the residence of a bishop is not certain; it was not till 1498, as we have seen, that the Holy See was asked to erect the abbacy into the bishopric of the Isles and by 1506 this had been accomplished.

Iona, as is well known, derives its renown from the great Irish apostle of Scotland, St. Columba. On Whitsunday, A. D. 563, he landed with his companions on that bleak, unsheltered island off the coast of Argyll, which was destined to become the centre of Christian teaching and practice for the whole extent of country north of the Grampians. The monastery established by St. Columba existed for six centuries. Early in the thirteenth century the island passed into the hands of Benedictines. Reginald, Lord of the Isles, founded an abbey for them and Pope Innocent III. approved of the foundation in 1203.

The abbey church, destined in after years to be raised to the dignity of a cathedral, was built of red granite brought from the neighboring island of Mull. It consisted of nave, choir and transepts; for the ground-plan, as in most monastic churches, was cruciform. There were no aisles, but on the south side of the choir were side chapels separated by pillars and arches. In extreme length the building measured some 148 feet, the nave and choir being of almost equal proportions. The transepts were 70 feet long. The massive

---

<sup>16</sup> Gordon's "Iona" and "Orig. Paroch.," Vol. II., pt. 1, are the authorities followed with regard to this cathedral.

square tower at the junction of nave and transept was about 70 feet high.

The great variety of styles to be detected in the architecture of the church shows it to have been built, bit by bit, at different periods, from the thirteenth century onwards. In the days of its glory the sculptured ornaments of the pillars of the choir and those supporting the central tower must have been among the most striking features of the church. One of the capitals bears the representation of the temptation of our first parents, another, their fall and expulsion from Paradise; the Crucifixion, the seizure of our Lord in the garden, the Last Judgment and Heaven seem to be the subjects portrayed on others. On the south side of the choir are three Sedilia for the use of the sacred ministers at Mass; these also are very finely carved.

The tower, which is now roofless, but otherwise almost perfect, forms a conspicuous feature of the buildings as viewed from the sea. Its windows are of uncommon design; one side is lighted by a cluster of quatre-foils in a square frame, another by a wheel window.

Scarcely more than fifty years after the erection of St. Mary's Abbey into the cathedral of the diocese of The Isles came the downfall of the Catholic religion in Scotland. The act passed in 1561 for the demolition of all "Monuments of Idolatry" throughout the realm was concurred in by the Synod of Argyll. The monks, in consequence, taking such of their sacred treasures as could be removed at short notice, fled before the approaching storm. Its ocean rampart was not enough to defend Iona from attack, although Kirkwall, similarly situated, escaped molestation. A mob of fanatics fell upon the sacred buildings and plundered all that could be taken, destroying what they could not carry off.

Some idea of the havoc wrought may be gained from the fact that of the 360 sculptured crosses which then stood on the island only three were left untouched; all the others being demolished and cast into the waves or carried away to adjacent islands to serve as grave-stones. The very bells were removed from the tower and local tradition has it that they were carried to Glasgow and broken up as old metal there. Another story says that they never reached their destination, being lost at sea—a fate which befell the bells of St. Andrews. The bells of Iona, however, were not all carried off from the island at that period, as there is evidence to show. From a letter of Charles II. to the Bishop of Raphoe in Ireland, dated March 14, 1635, it appears that two bells had been taken there by a former Protestant bishop of the Isles.

The library of Iona was of great value. Many of its treasures were removed to Cairnburgh Castle on a neighboring island; but



when Cromwell besieged the place in after years, they must have perished in the flames which destroyed the castle. Some of the books and manuscripts are said to have been conveyed in safety to the continent and placed in the Colleges of Douai and Ratisbon; but these houses, too, fell a prey to the Revolution and the evils which followed in its train, and thus such salvage consequently disappeared in its turn. One or two stray manuscripts are preserved in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh; but all the records of Iona have vanished entirely.

One of the chalices—a gold one of great antiquity—came into the possession of the family of Glengarry and was presented to Bishop Ranald McDonald (1820-1832), Vicar Apostolic of the Highland District. From him it passed to Bishop Andrew Scott, who became his coadjutor and afterwards his successor in the Western District. Bishop Scott was accustomed to make use of the chalice in St. Mary's Catholic Church, Abercromby street, Glasgow, but in 1845 some burglars broke into the sacristy of the church and carried off the precious relic of bygone days, and in spite of every effort to recover it the chalice was never seen again, having found its way, in all probability, into the melting pot.

The slab of the High Altar was a fine piece of white marble veined with gray, and when perfect measured six feet by four. It was probably quarried from the south end of the island, where a small quantity still exists. Between the years 1688 and 1772 this stone diminished from almost its original size to a small fragment. The reason of this was that Protestant visitors broke off pieces to keep by them as a species of charm, a superstitious belief having sprung up that the stone would bring its possessor general good luck—an idea originating, no doubt, from the vague impression that it had been connected in some way with the manifestation of God's special power. The last remaining portion was carried to Glasgow and placed in St. Andrew's Episcopal Church there.

About the year 1648 Iona came into the possession of the Argyll family, with whom it has since remained. The late Duke took a great interest in the sacred spot and its antiquities. In 1873 he employed an architect to visit the ruins and report upon their condition; in consequence of the suggestions made in the report, many restorations were carried out for the better preservation of the venerable pile. The foundations of chapels hitherto covered by accumulated rubbish were cleared, many excavations and repairs made in the monastic buildings that yet remained and the whole of the ruins put into a state of decent order.

At the present day the walls of the choir are in pretty good condition, though the nave is more dilapidated. Within the precincts are

several interesting tombs. On the north side of the altar is that of Abbot Mackinnon, who died in 1500. On the south side is that of Abbot Kenneth McKenzie, eleven years earlier in date. McLean of Ross has a tomb in the choir and McLeod of McLeod also.

Iona retains its interest for those who are opposed to Catholicity on account of its connection with St. Columba. The following extract from the pen of an American Episcopalian minister is a curious instance of the effect of bigotry in blinding the mind to the clear teaching of history: "It affords an exalted and tranquil pleasure to rest in the shadow of such ruins—to search with a filial affection in the faint remembrances of ages for the venerable, but alas, fading forms of the Fathers of that Faith, which itself is the evidence of things that are not seen. . . . Seven centuries roll away and the unseen has given place to the visible. Towers, arches, altars, crosses, buttresses and palaces have covered the iron-bound coast of the island of Columba's cell. . . . The simple Faith which was built upon the Rock of Ages is obscured by a mortal homage, offered in a magnificent cathedral built upon the sand! Behold it there nodding to its downfall! . . . The pure Faith, of which Columba, about thirteen centuries ago, was the northern apostle, lives and prevails, and by the power of its childlike simplicity shall conquer the world, while the magnificent monuments of a visible religion, though hardly seven centuries old, have already crumbled."<sup>17</sup>

The amazing assumption that the religion taught by St. Columba was identical with Protestantism is not more amusing to a Catholic mind than the insinuation that the crumbling ruins of the "magnificent cathedral built upon the sand" (not by any means a happy simile, for it stands higher than any other building on the island) are the result of mere neglect on the part of the followers of "the simple . . . the pure Faith," because they despise all outward grandeur of worship. History is the witness that the ruins are the result of wanton and deliberate sacrilege and affirms that the Faith taught by Columba, the Irish monk, was identical with that of the builder of the more modern cathedral. Both the one and the other would agree in denouncing the "pure" religion of the writer in question as a false and imperfect form of Christianity.

An old Gaelic verse, often quoted, embodies what is said to have been a prophecy of St. Columba concerning his dear Iona; literally translated it runs as follows:

"In Iona of my heart, Iona of my love,  
Instead of monk's voice shall be lowing of kine;  
But ere the world comes to end  
Shall Iona be as it was."

---

<sup>17</sup> Gordon's "Ecl. Chronicle of Scot.," Vol. III., p. 575-6.

As regards the cattle, the prophecy has certainly been fulfilled; for they grazed within the grass-grown nave and choir as freely as in the surrounding meadow, after the building had fallen to ruin. When a pilgrimage of Scottish Catholics, led by the Bishop of the Isles, celebrated there the memory of the great St. Columba, Mass was sung once again in the ancient sanctuary and the Benedictine Monks from Fort Augustus formed the choir; in a certain sense, therefore, the latter part of the verse has seen its fulfilment in the restoration of the sacred rites and of God's praises offered by the voices of monks, after so many years of desecration.

Since then a further advance has been made; for when a second pilgrimage resorted thither in June, 1897, in honor of the thirteenth centenary of the saint's death, the cathedral had been partially roofed, to render it more fitted for divine worship, on the occasion of an Anglican Church celebration a few days before, and the Pontifical Mass was accordingly offered in more decent surroundings than had been previously possible.

At the present time the sacred edifice is undergoing more substantial restoration to fit it for Presbyterian worship; for the present Duke has given it to the Church of Scotland; however much one may regret that an ancient Catholic sanctuary should be made over to the use of a religion alien to that for which it was founded, the cathedral will, at least, escape the degradation of becoming once more a grazing ground for cattle, as in past ages.

It may be that this recent building-up of the youngest of the old Scottish cathedrals is intended in the providence of God to pave the way to a more perfect renovation, when a church beautified by the art of man shall receive its crowning glory in the restitution of Catholic rites within its walls in perpetuity. This alone can fully verify the prediction of Iona's saintly founder; but this, at present, seems as far off as ever.

Nevertheless, God's hand is not shortened; that which seems to us a dream, hopelessly impossible of fulfilment, is surely within His power. To the Scottish Catholic of a hundred years ago the present liberty which the Church enjoys and the respect shown to her ministers could never have been foreseen. To us, in like manner, the future is a sealed book. But we can hope and pray that Iona and the other centres of Catholic life in the ages of Faith may return to their former owners and become once again homes of the Blessed Sacrament and temples whence the voice of prayer and praise may rise to heaven, not in the faltering accents of an imperfect Christianity, but in the full and perfect harmony of the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church.

MICHAEL BARRETT, O. S. B.

Fort Augustus, Scotland.



## THE LAST MEXICAN EMPIRE.

HISTOIRE DU SECOND EMPIRE. Par Pierre de la Gorce. Five volumes. Paris: Plon, Nourrit & Cie, 1899-1901.

A CLEVER man once remarked to us that he thought history ought to be learned backwards. At all events such a novel method of teaching history would be more useful than that in use in too many schools. There the ancient histories of Greece and Rome are fully learned, but of the history of their own country the students learn little, and of contemporary history they are taught nothing. It may be objected that it is not possible to teach students the history of the times immediately preceding their own, because it has not and cannot as yet be written.

It is not for lack of material that it cannot be written and fully and accurately written. Of course there have been events during the last half dozen decades shrouded in secrecy that cannot and perhaps never will be pierced. But every age has had such secrets and such as the most patient historical investigations have never quite cleared up. But for forming a just judgment on recent history, our parliamentary debates, our official publications of documents, the despatches, letters and memoirs of our soldiers, statesmen and public personages, and, if critically handled, much that has been printed in the newspapers, form, we hold, a mass of material for writing the history of the last sixty or seventy years. That this can be done is proved by the work before us. Its five volumes are models of how to write contemporary history with accuracy and impartiality. The French Academy by crowning and the French public by calling for a fifth edition of this work attest its value and success. To Catholics the story they tell is of no small interest, for M. de la Gorce gives in all its details the story of how Italy was made and of how Pius IX. was robbed of his Civil Principedom, a robbery which led to the overthrow of the Second French Empire whose master had played such a double-dealing part towards the Holy See.

Interesting as it would be, it were too long to follow our author through all this part of his narrative. We shall take up the thread of his narrative at the point where he resumes it in his fourth volume. Italy was then made except that it did not include the Patrimony of St. Peter and the Venetian provinces within frontiers extended by so much fraud and bloodshed. And Cavour, that able, ambitious, unscrupulous statesman, was just dead while another statesman, Bismarck, who was destined to give the final blows that overwhelmed the Second Empire, had not as yet loomed largely on the political horizon. As for Napoleon the Third in that year 1861, he was still

popular in France and abroad, still regarded as the arbiter of the world's destinies. But, as M. de la Gorce remarks, the Emperor, a dreamer of dreams such as the world has rarely seen, had cast seeds broadcast at home and abroad and was surprised to see the seeds rapidly springing up and assuming a growth the sower little intended they should ever assume. "But your real dreamer thinks he can better his dreams by fresh dreams, but he never gives over dreaming." The fresh dream of Napoleon the Third in the year 1861 was to found on the shores of the Gulf of Mexico an empire which if not French should be founded by French arms and under French influences.

The story of how Napoleon III. attempted the realization of this wild dream is as tragic a story as any in the history of the nineteenth century, although that history is not devoid of many tragic elements.

Three European nations had considerable interests engaged in Mexico at this time. British capital and enterprise were busied with the mines and farms of Mexico. Spaniards in large numbers had emigrated to Mexico, considering that country, though politically separated from their own, as still by race and language, a part of their own fatherland. And thither Frenchmen, in greater numbers than is generally thought, says M. de la Gorce, had gone to seek fortunes which their own land had refused them and which they preferred to seek in the midst of a Latin race than in lands where the majority belonged to the English-speaking races. But all these emigrants found themselves in great straits by the civil wars that became endemic in Mexico after the abdication of the President Santa-Anna in 1855. Looked upon with suspicion by all parties in the country, no matter how quiet they kept or how carefully they held aloof from party strife, these emigrants were ransomed in turn by whatever party chanced for the moment to have the upper hand. France tried in vain to protect its subjects, and even went as far as to bombard Vera Cruz in 1858, whereupon a promise was made to indemnify French settlers for their losses. England and Spain had also concluded various conventions with Mexico in favor of their subjects. But all produced little results. The foreign settlers continued to pour in their complaints through their consuls and ambassadors to their respective governments. It is true some of these complaints were trumped up by men who sought to fill their pockets by describing grievances they had never endured. But well-founded grievances enough existed to authorize an intervention of England, France and Spain on behalf of their subjects in Mexico.

In 1860 Mexican affairs had got into such a tangle that it seemed impossible to unravel them and that the sword would have to do its work. At Vera Cruz, Juarez held sway with the help of the Liberal

party whose programme was to consolidate and to federalize the Mexican republic and to nationalize, that is to say, confiscate for the benefit of the state, the property of the Catholic Church throughout the country. In the capital the gallant young General Miramon ruled, supported by the Conservatives whose leanings were towards a monarchy and whose strength lay among the land owners and clergy. The party under Juarez had in 1860 rather the best of the struggle for power when some of his followers intercepted and seized a convoy of silver, belonging for the most part to British merchants, on its way to the coast. Almost at the same moment, Miramon's agents laid hands on a considerable sum of money deposited in the British embassy in Mexico for the payment of certain interests long overdue. England protested and the rival Presidents hastened to excuse their conduct. It was harder to make full restitution, for both parties were penniless. Each party promised restitution as soon as it had overcome its rival. Such promises met with little favor either in England or in France, and the idea of an expedition against Mexico began to take form. England at least desired to use no more force nor to interfere further in Mexican affairs than was needful to protect British interests.

Other schemes were fermenting in the busy brain of the third Napoleon. In the year 1846 a prisoner confined in a small citadel of Northern France for a political offense had written a brilliantly imaginative pamphlet in which he had described a canal made to unite the Pacific and the Atlantic Oceans, and to keep asunder the English-speaking races of North and the Latin races of Southern America. And beside this canal was to be founded, in a land rich with agricultural and mineral produce, a second Byzantine empire whose business it would be to hold in equilibrium the forces of North and South America. The prisoner who thus dreamed in his cell in the citadel of Ham was now, in 1860, Emperor of the French and by his victories in the plains of Lombardy had just lately twined a laurel wreath around his brows. Had the time come when the dreams of the prisoner should be realized by the master of many legions and of a powerful fleet?

During the Second Empire strangers of all nations found a ready welcome in the palace of the Tuileries. Especially welcome were the Mexicans who had sought a refuge in Paris from political troubles at home. Among these were Mgr. Labastida, Archbishop of Mexico, and several representatives of the Conservative party in Mexico. The Emperor turned a willing ear to their proposals that with some help from a European power a new monarchy should be set up in Mexico. The Empress, who conversed with these refugees in her and their mother tongue, was favorable to their views. Her



piety inclined her to plans that seemed for the good of religion endangered by Juarez and his republicans.<sup>1</sup>

The historian of the Second Empire records certain vague conversations between French and Spanish diplomatists, and a report that, as early as 1859, an offer of a Mexican crown had been made to the Archduke Maximilian, to show that Napoleon was contemplating transforming a question that with England was merely one of commercial interests into a political question of the first magnitude. Dubois de Saligny had been sent out as French envoy and arrived in Mexico just as Juarez had entered the Mexican capital on January 11, 1861, and his rival Miramon had fled and sought refuge in Cuba. All the despatches of this envoy, who had, it would seem, read his master's thoughts too well, were designed to egg on the French Emperor to intervene by force of arms in Mexican affairs. His accusations against Juarez and his government were numerous and exaggerated. But matters reached a climax when towards the close of August, 1861, a despatch reached Europe announcing that the Mexican Congress and its President had passed a law suspending for two years the payment of debts due by treaty to foreigners. Being penniless, there was nothing unexpected in this act of international bankruptcy, but it was the last straw that broke the back of European patience. It was warmly resented in Paris, Madrid and London.

Lord John Russell was then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in the Palmerston Cabinet. He at once and unhesitatingly declared what England would do in regard to Mexico. England would act as an armed bailiff on behalf of Mexico's British creditors. It would seize and hold certain harbors and custom houses to enforce payments of debts due to her subjects. England would have nothing to do with any ideal policy in regard to Mexico. So far as England was concerned, she had suffered from both parties in Mexico, and she was not going to interfere with their cutting their throats mutually. And though at that moment the United States were engaged in civil war, England desired above all not to do anything that the States might resent, such as a military occupation of Mexico. As M. de la Gorce admits, England's attitude was straightforward, and she kept to it to the last. Nor was Lord John Russell inclined to depart from it by the knowledge he had of what was passing in the Emperor Napoleon's mind.

The attitude of Spain was very different. It talked of restoring law and order in Mexico whence Juarez had lately expelled Spain's diplomatic agent. Orders were given to prepare an expedition from Cuba to plant on the shores of Mexico the old and glorious flag of

---

<sup>1</sup> P. de la Gorce, "*Histoire du Second Empire*," III., 16.

Spain. In diplomatic talk with M. Thouvenel, then French Foreign Minister, the Spanish ambassador in Paris hinted that a prince of the house of Bourbon might be put on a Mexican throne. When, however, M. Thouvenel suggested that an Austrian Archduke might be more acceptable, Spain grew less enthusiastic. England wanted no more than commercial profit out of a bad business. France and Spain sought political gains, and thought the occasion good to win them. The most formidable obstacles—the United States—was engaged over its own internal troubles. Meanwhile things were going from bad to worse in Mexico. Not only the French, but also the English reports described the state of anarchy as extreme, and no foreigner's life was safe, nor his property secure in the unhappy country which God had made so rich and beautiful and man had turned into a pandemonium. It was time to act, and accordingly England, France and Spain, apparently at least, agreed as to what had to be done.

On October 31, 1861, the Convention of London was signed by the representatives of the three powers. The rough draft as well as the final form the convention assumed betrayed the pre-occupations of the three contracting powers. The object of the treaty was clearly enough set forth. Mexico was to be forced to fulfill its financial and other treaty obligations. To effect this certain forts and places along its coasts were to be seized. But, and in this stipulation France spoke, the commanders of the allied forces were free to take such measures on the spot as they might deem necessary for the protection of foreign residents in Mexico. But, and here England spoke, the second article of the treaty bound the allied powers not to interfere with the right of Mexicans to choose and constitute their own form of government. It is hard to see how these two last stipulations could be made to tally. If the commanders decided to push on to the Mexican capital to protect foreigners there, how, in presence of an invading force, would the Mexicans be free to choose their own form of government—a government the allies might deem hostile to those they came to protect? Nor were the instructions given to the French and English commanders less contradictory. As to Spain, all the instructions it had given, so it said, were "elastic and discretionary."

Early in December the diplomatic representatives of England and France left Mexico for Vera Cruz. A few days later a Spanish fleet with six thousand soldiers on board, commanded by General Prim, appeared off Vera Cruz. The partisans of Juarez did not defend the place. They allowed the Spaniards to occupy it without opposition and contented themselves with drawing a cordon of outposts around the town to cut off all communication between it and the interior of

the country. In January the English fleet anchored off Vera Cruz. Commanded by Commodore Dunlop, the English force consisted only of a line of battleship, two frigates and a landing party of seven hundred Royal Marines. This force was quickly joined by the French under Admiral Jurien de la Gravière. The French troops consisted in all of some two thousand five hundred men. It was a ridiculously small force if—as there can be no doubt was the case—Napoleon III. dreamed of founding an empire in Mexico. On the contrary, the comparatively large force of Spaniards under a general conversant with the language of the country, having friends there and well versed in the art of political intrigues, caused much surprise. It was the impression of many in the allied forces that Prim had come to carve out for himself a kingdom in Mexico.

The allies expected that their arrival in Vera Cruz would rally around them all who in Mexico loved law and order. A proclamation was issued to appeal to such persons, but no answer came. The only Mexicans who appeared were the exiles who had come with the allies, among whom was Miramon. His presence was resented by the English and he was sent back to Cuba. Then the allied commanders and diplomatists drew up their claims against Mexico. Great was the surprise of English and Spaniards when France demanded a lump sum of twelve million *piastres*, the *piastres* having then a nominal value of a dollar. Still greater surprise was caused when France further demanded that the contract concluded in 1859, between a banker named Jecker and the Mexican government should be there and then fulfilled. This Jecker was a Swiss who had by a very pretty bit of usury made the Mexican government his debtor for some seventy-five million *piastres*. Had Jecker sought to recover this sum in any law court of a civilized nation, he would certainly have been non-suited. Moreover, what had France to do with a contract passed between persons not under its jurisdiction? But this bankrupt Swiss banker had made to himself powerful protectors in Europe and finally obtained a decree naturalizing him a Frenchman. In the state papers published by the United States government in 1863, and from papers found in the Tuileries after the fall of the Second Empire, it is clear that the chief protector of this banker was the Duc de Morny, the friend and adviser of Napoleon the Third.<sup>2</sup> This Jecker claim, bringing up the grand total to be exacted from Mexico to the sum of 250,000,000 of *piastres*, determined the representatives of England, Spain and France to refer to their respective governments for further instructions. It had become clear that it would be no easy matter to make Mexico pay a sum equal to two years of its entire revenue.

---

<sup>2</sup> See P. de la Gorce, *op. cit.*, III., 40.



This delay threw on the military chiefs of the expedition a terrible anxiety. February had already begun. In two months more the rainy season would set in, and the deadly *vomito* or yellow fever would decimate their small forces. Before the rains should begin either the troops would have to reëmbark or else move to the higher, more temperate and healthier regions of Mexico. To reëmbark was to confess that the expedition had failed; to take up positions in the interior of the country with so small a force was courting disaster; besides would England and Spain, now more and more inclined to stand together, agree to a move inland? Just then a curious offer was made by Juarez's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Doblado. Receiving the officers sent to him with the financial demands of the allies in an affable, off-hand fashion, he declared that now all Mexico had submitted except a few rebels still in arms to the authority of Juarez, the republic would be very well pleased to settle with its creditors. But, he added, would it not be better for the representatives of the allies to move up country with an escort of two thousand men as far as Orizaba, a healthy town with a temperate and pleasant climate, situated some fifteen thousand feet above the marshy, steaming, fever-haunted lands around Vera Cruz? The rest of the expedition might then return to its homes. Negotiations ensued, Prim and Doblado met and finally the treaty of Soledad was signed. The allies promised to respect the territory, independence and sovereignty of the republic; they were to take up positions in and around the three towns of Cordova, Tehuacan and Orizaba. Negotiations were to be resumed on April 15, 1862; if these failed the allies, before opening hostilities, were to withdraw from the temperate to the torrid lands at the foot of the mountains. The Mexican flag was to float over Vera Cruz beside the flags of the allies. The treaty was welcome to the English, who had more and more begun to put their trust in the government of Juarez. It was welcome, too, to Spaniards who with their chief had wholly lost whatever illusions they once entertained of restoring Spanish rule in Mexico. As for the French, it was better than remaining in Vera Cruz, and it relieved the anxieties of their military chiefs. Already the allies had had a warning of what Vera Cruz had in store for them. The Spaniards had sent home six hundred and the French four hundred invalid soldiers. And the yellow fever had not as yet appeared. But in the last days of February, as the French and Spanish troops marched wearily across a difficult country to take up their cantonments in the hill country, some cases of yellow fever showed how pressing was the need that they should change quarters. As to the handful of British marines, they reëmbarked on board their ships in the harbor. The Mexican flag was hoisted over Vera Cruz and was

saluted by a United States warship in port. The echo of that salute should have been a salutary reminder to the allies that on American soil there was a power that had not forgotten and would in due time act on the principles of the Monroe doctrine.

Early in 1862 the French government embarked for Mexico a reinforcement of four thousand men under the command of General de Lorencez. England regretted this measure; Spain disliked it, for it placed her in the second rank in the military strength of the alliance. That alliance it was clear was rapidly breaking up. English diplomacy was disgusted at the Jecker claims and alarmed by persistent rumors that the Austrian Archduke Maximilian had been offered the crown of Mexico, if not by France, at least by those France patronized, the Mexican exiles. One of these, Almonte, a man of obscure birth but of high character, who had held high office in Mexico and had represented the Conservative party while in power in the Mexican embassies of Washington and Paris, returned to Mexico at the same time French reinforcements landed there. Prim and the English envoy strove to have him expelled, but the French refused. They objected to Almonte because he was opposed to Juarez, whom they wished to conciliate. Almonte had come to arouse the dormant Conservative party which he had led Napoleon to believe as powerful in Mexico. And in this belief the despatches of the French envoy de Saligny confirmed the Emperor. And so when the imperial government heard of the Soledad treaty, it disavowed it and recalled the honest sailor, Admiral Jurien, who had signed it. Things were now ripe for England and Spain to break off from an alliance that was rapidly involving them in an armed intervention in the internal affairs of Mexico. The rupture came on April 9, when a council of the military chiefs and diplomatic representatives of the allies met. England and Spain protested against the presence of Almonte in Mexico. The French replied that it was not his presence, but the excessive deference paid by England and Spain to the government of Juarez, that had made the treaty of London valueless. Between the French and English diplomatists words waxed warm. A personal altercation ensued between the French envoy de Saligny and Prim, who was accused by the former of personal ambition in his opposition to what was now clearly France's aim, the establishment of a monarchy under Maximilian. The meeting grew more and more stormy. The English and Spaniards demanded Almonte's expulsion. The French refused, whereupon the former withdrew, announcing their intention to reëmbark their forces. A few days later the small British force was on its way to Bermuda, and the Spaniards to Havana.

General Lorencez, with his six thousand Frenchmen, were left

alone at Cordova. A small French force held Vera Cruz as the base of operations. But between that base and the army extended a tract of country infested by guerillas and reeking with yellow fever. Never was soldier left in a more precarious position than was Lorencez. It was one from which genius might snatch a victory. But Lorencez was no genius, only a plain, brave, rather martinet soldier. Moreover, he was blinded to the full danger of his position by his belief in what the French envoy had told him since his arrival in Mexico and in what he had heard from the Emperor before leaving France, that there existed in Mexico a Conservative party ready to found on the ruins of the republic a monarchy under French protection. It was this belief that misled all concerned in the terrible drama of which we have now seen the first act.

Anxious to escape the obligation imposed on him by the treaty of Soledad of regaining the foot of the hills before beginning hostilities, Lorencez used a letter that General Saragoza, the Mexican general, had sent him and which seemed to menace the lives of some French sick soldiers left in the power of the Mexicans, to commence his advance without retrograding first to the regions where the yellow fever would have decimated his small army. Joined by some three hundred irregular Mexican insurgent cavalry he marched on Puebla de los Angeles, a city which, it was expected, would welcome the French. But on coming before it he found nobody came forth to welcome him. Instead the place was strongly held by the Mexicans under Saragoza. It was commanded by a convent on the Cerro de Guadeloupe which the Mexicans had turned into a fortress bristling with cannon. The French made an attempt to take it by assault. In spite of heroic attempts to scale the walls, the French were repulsed with a loss of some five hundred killed and wounded. After waiting outside Puebla in hopes that the Mexicans would come out and meet him in the open, Lorencez had to begin his retreat, admirably conducted, to Orizaba, there to await reinforcements from France.

In France little interest had been taken by the public in the Mexican expedition until news was made public that a French force had met with a reverse at Puebla. The Mexican question was debated in the Chamber of Deputies, and if the government orators won the day, the opposition speakers, and especially Jules Favre, were listened with an attention that disquieted Napoleon. He saw that nothing now except success would justify to France his Mexican policy. With feverish anxiety he urged on his War Minister to send out reinforcements, and by the end of September some twenty-three thousand men under General Forey had set sail for Mexico. All military and civil power was given to the general, but



he was to treat with great deference the advice M. de Saligny might tender. Napoleon III. was still under the charm of that diplomatist whose views coincided so well with the Emperor's. Napoleon still dreamed of a regeneration of Mexico under a monarchy.

The situation of the French force in Mexico was, meanwhile, exceedingly critical. It was with the greatest difficulty that the troops at Orizaba could be provisioned, for the convoys from Vera Cruz were harassed by the guerillas, and their escorts ravaged by the yellow fever in crossing the unhealthy lowlands. Messages passed between the main corps and the daily enfeebled garrison at the seaport with the greatest dangers. Often Indians employed to carry these messages wrapped up as cigarettes were caught by watchful Mexican guerillas and strung up without pity on the nearest tree for helping the invader. Lorencez's force was nearly surprised, too, on one occasion by a force of two thousand Mexicans who had crept up a mountain overlooking Orizaba and had got three howitzers into position on its summit. Happily for the French, a poor woman alarmed a picket of the Ninety-ninth Regiment. Two companies gallantly climbed the face of the mountain, where the Mexicans awaited dawn to open fire on the French beneath them. The surprisers were themselves surprised, driven with heavy loss from their commanding position and their guns captured.

It was to their great joy that at last relief came to the French. By the end of November, 1862, General Forey had assembled his army at Orizaba. With the remnants of Lorencez's force—that general had been recalled to France—the whole force consisted of some twenty-seven thousand men divided into two divisions, one under General Douay, the other under General Bazaine. Forey, the commander-in-chief, rendered cautious by his predecessor's failure through overhaste, went to the other extreme. His advanced years, the pessimist views his political adviser, M. de Saligny, now expressed, the sight of a whole regiment that had escorted him from Vera Cruz being reduced on the march through fatigue and sickness to only ten men in good health, depressed the gallant veteran and it was five months before he ventured to attack Puebla. Saragoza, its former defender, was dead. Ortega, his successor, had placed the town in a strong state for defense. New forts had been erected around the place, while its stone-built houses, especially its massively built convents and public buildings, had been converted into well-defended fortresses. After two months of hard fighting the French captured one of the outlying forts and had begun to attack the fortified houses of the town. The French began to lose heart before so stubborn a defense and thought that at Puebla de los Angeles they had found a second Saragoza. Forey himself pro-

posed at a council of war to raise the siege. But at the darkest moment of the siege hope dawned for the French. A Mexican relieving force had attempted to aid the besiegers in vain. By a clever night march Bazaine had surprised this force and utterly routed it. Ortega saw that now the final issue of the siege must be favorable to the French and after some parleying surrendered at discretion. On May 19, 1863, Forey made his entry into the town. More than a thousand officers and men of the French had been killed and wounded during the siege.

The road to the Mexican capital was now open to the French. Juarez and his government, with his money chests and records, after making a pretence of intending to defend Mexico, abandoned the capital and on June 10 General Forey rode in triumph into the city of Montezuma. Then for the first time the Mexicans, whom Napoleon believed, and his agent de Saligny had affirmed to be so anxious to welcome the French, began to show themselves. Triumphal arches, showers of flowers, processions and endless festivities might, if the capital had at all been representative of the country, have made the French believe that they were welcome guests and that their imperial master's dream was being realized. So at least thought Forey, of whom one of his officers wrote home: "He imagines himself to be a second Cortez." He appointed a Junta of thirty-five notable citizens. The Junta chose a triumvirate consisting of Almonte, Mgr. Labastida, Archbishop of Mexico, and one of the obscurest of the legion of Mexican generals, one named Salas. These three proclaimed that the monarchy was reëstablished and that the crown was to be offered to the Archduke Maximilian.

These events were still in progress when a change had come over the views of the French government. Napoleon had ceased to credit M. de Saligny's hopeful reports, and he was recalled. General Forey's procrastination in beginning operations and the length of time it had taken him to capture Puebla were to be punished and rewarded. He was promoted Marshal of France, but recalled from his command. On October 21, 1863, the old soldier set sail from Vera Cruz, and Bazaine commanded in his place. Marius had supplanted Metellus, remarks M. de la Gorce, and to him "for whom such a dark destiny was in store one might then have willingly applied the words of Sallust about Marius, *omnes spes et opes in illo sitæ*."

There was no communication by rail or telegraph in those days between Vera Cruz and the interior of Mexico. Consequently reports from the front were long in reaching Paris, while reports of the varying moods of the home government were equally long in reaching the army in Mexico. Much confusion ensued from this slowness of communications. But when it was known in Paris that

Mexico had been occupied, the Imperial government took up again its old resolutions for the regeneration of Mexico as an empire under Maximilian. Acting on instructions in this sense, Bazaine with laudable activity set to work with his army, now increased to an effective force of thirty-four thousand men, to hold and pacify the country, to prepare the way for the coming Emperor. First he secured his line of communication with Vera Cruz; next he despatched two divisions by two different roads that ran from the capital towards the Pacific. On January 5, 1864, his troops had occupied Guadalajara, the second most important town in the country. Thus the French held a line cutting the country almost in two and preventing the adherents of the fugitive Juarez from gathering in any considerable force from the north or the south. It was then that Almonte, who was the real head of the government or Regency of the Empire, as it styled itself, addressed a pressing and highly colored letter of invitation to the Archduke Maximilian, whom he hailed as "Sire." Juarez, he said, had fled, the Republicans were scattered and disheartened, two-thirds of the country and eighty per cent. of the population eagerly awaited their Emperor!

So the second act of this Mexican drama ended. It would have been better for France, for Napoleon and his Empire, had that act have ended not as it did, but by the withdrawal of the French from Mexico after exacting guarantees for the payment of French claims. France, if we may use Bismarck's inelegant phrase, should have allowed Mexico to stew in its own grease. The Crimea, the Italian campaign, the Syrian and Chinese expeditions had glutted Frenchmen with big and little wars. And the Mexican adventure came at a moment when dark clouds on the political horizon of Europe warned France to husband even her rich resources, instead of squandering them in an enterprise from which her English and Spanish allies had cautiously withdrawn. If the Mexicans wanted law and order under an Emperor or preferred to enjoy a revolution once a week under a republic, that was their business. But Napoleon had dreamed of a Mexican Empire, and his dream had to come to pass. Besides, would it not be wise to help an Austrian Archduke to an empire across the Atlantic to compensate Austria for what that country had lost or had still to lose in Italy? This would conciliate an old enemy and would insure Italy's gratitude.

Under the influence of such arguments, Napoleon allowed the Mexicans to invite Maximilian, the younger brother of the Austrian Emperor, to become their ruler. He was in the prime of life, having been born in 1832, was tall and handsome. A sailor by choice, he had voyaged a good deal and had reorganized the small but excellent Austrian navy. He had been for a short time Viceroy in Lombardy.



In his private capacity the Italians showed him many marks of esteem which they refused to pay him in his public capacity. He had the soul of an artist, was an able archæologist and well versed in botany. At Miramar he had created a home that contained the rare collections he had made in his travels and which looked out on that sea that was so dear to him. Married to Charlotte, daughter of King Leopold I., of Belgium, the couple might have lived in an earthly paradise at Miramar had not dreams of ambition dazzled his imagination and taken a more concrete form under the influence of his wife. He listened to the invitation the Mexicans brought him on October 3, 1863, to accept the crown of Mexico, and from his private correspondence it is clear that from that time he had made up his mind not to refuse the dangerous gift.

The infatuated Archduke took no heed of the warnings that reached him from many quarters. The Mexican Liberals, and even Almonte himself, let him know that the task he was about to take in hand was on child's play. For instance, they bade him remember that while the Church in Mexico would rightfully claim back the property Juarez had taken from it, a warm opposition might be expected from the present holders of that property. In England the press and the government uttered words of warning. England's late representative in Mexico traveled to Vienna to dissuade the Archduke from his enterprise. Palmerston cynically remarked that England's good wishes would be with him if he succeeded. In France, the War Minister, Marshal Randon, and General Fleury, one of the Emperor's intimate associates, expressed their opinion that France should withdraw from the whole business. In the *Corps Legislatif*, on credits being asked for the Mexican expedition, it was evident that they were very grudgingly granted, and in a debate on the Mexican expedition, Thiers and the aged Berryer urged that the government should withdraw from it. If anything could have opened the eyes of the Archduke—Arch-dupe some clumsy Parisian wit had called him—it surely should have been the so-called treaty of Miramar that Napoleon III. made him sign. By it the French expeditionary force was as soon as possible to be reduced to twenty-five thousand men and the whole to be gradually withdrawn. A secret clause, however, was added that twenty thousand French troops should remain in Mexico until 1867. Maximilian took on himself to satisfy all French claims amounting, without the Jecker claims, to sixty millions of francs; further, he was to be responsible for the two hundred and seventy million francs the expedition would have cost up to July, 1864, after which date he was to pay a thousand francs a year for each French soldier remaining in Mexico. A two monthly service of transports was to be established between France and Vera

Cruz, for which Maximilian was to pay four hundred thousand francs each voyage. For all this France was to receive a part payment of six millions which Maximilian was to raise at once by loan. In all this business it is hard to know whether to feel more disgust at Napoleon's huckstering or astonishment at Maximilian's simplicity. Did not the Archduke see that he was to start his empire by bankruptcy, or did he fancy that Mexico was an El Dorado, out of which by a wave of his imperial sceptre he could conjure up a stream of gold? And this was how Napoleon proposed to regenerate Mexico. After a visit to Brussels, London and Paris, the Archduke and his wife returned to Miramar, and there, on April 4, 1864, Maximilian solemnly accepted the imperial crown of Mexico from the delegates who had come to offer it to him. Six days later the new Emperor and Empress steamed away from Trieste on board the Austrian frigate *Novara*, escorted by the *Themis*, a French warship.

It is said that as the land he loved, yet had renounced, sunk from his sight, the Emperor, much depressed, retired into his cabin. Did he think then of two significant incidents that had occurred during his recent round of courtly visits? At Paris the American Minister, by orders of his government, had abstained from meeting the Archduke, and proved with what dislike the United States regarded his enterprise. While in England he and his wife had taken leave of the aged Queen Marie Amelie, the grandmother of the Archduchess. The aged widow of Louis Philippe had done her best to dissuade her grandchild, whom she loved dearly, and her husband from accepting the Mexican crown. And when they had parted from her she could no longer restrain her sorrow and fears, and kept on repeating with that mystical lore that the poet tells us comes with the evening of life: "They will be assassinated; they will be assassinated!" But when once fairly out on the Atlantic the Archduke's love of the breezy ocean revived his courage. Vera Cruz, with its coldly indifferent population, the journey across the fever-haunted lands between there and the first Mexican mountains and various little accidents by the way were not calculated to encourage the new sovereigns on their arrival in their empire. But in their progress to the capital the population grew more sympathetic until at last they entered the City of Mexico on June 12, 1864. There the joy seemed so universal that the Emperor and Empress might really believe that all Mexico welcomed them. In this joy how many were sincere? Perhaps only the poor Indians, who hoped much from the coming of the fair-haired Prince who, one of their traditions promised, would one day save them from the injustice of their European conquerors.<sup>3</sup>

Maximilian adopted a policy which, had he been a better judge of

---

<sup>3</sup> See P. de la Gorce, *op. cit.* IV., 334.

men than he was and had he been better acquainted with men and things in Mexico, might have been a wise and successful policy. As it was, it estranged from him all those who had been most zealous in inviting him to accept the throne of Mexico, for these men found themselves thrust into purely honorary offices or sent as ambassadors to Europe, as if the soil of Mexico were too hot for them. The reins of government were, on the contrary, confided to men who had been among the warmest opponents of foreign intervention. Moreover, Maximilian, devout Catholic as he was in his private life, set the clergy against him. In his parting interview with Pius IX. he had failed to settle the affairs of the Church in Mexico. Mgr. Meglia was sent out as Nuncio. Negotiations were renewed. The clergy desired a return to the state of things before the reforming laws of Juarez had disestablished the Church in Mexico and sold its property. Maximilian, a Liberal in such matters, disliked this, and the Nuncio found himself forced to refer to Rome for fresh instructions. But the Emperor grew impatient and issued two decrees by which the Catholic religion was recognized as the State religion of Mexico and the fate of the church property sold definitely fixed. The clergy, by these ill-timed decrees, grew cold in their support of the empire.

The military situation was better than the political and ecclesiastical. The centre of Mexico was pacified. In the north Juarez had been driven back towards the borders of the United States. South at Oajaca, Porfirio Diaz held that place with a republican force of seven thousand men. Bazaine, now Marshal, marched against it with six thousand men. He had hardly begun to lay siege to the place when Diaz surrendered it at discretion on February 9, 1865.

It would be a mistake to speak of there being in Mexico at this epoch parties on which the Emperor could rely. There were on the one side the men who lived by the recurring insurrections that convulsed the country; on the other hand was the mass of the population whose only desire was to live at peace. But that mass was inert, timid and looked for help when it ought to have had the energy and courage to help itself. It was from this mass that Maximilian thought to form a national party that would keep him on the throne. Had he been a wise, strong, determined ruler, with all the resources of the country at his free disposal, the task he had undertaken might have had a chance of success. As it was, Maximilian was of a weak, changeful character. He might decree the making of railways, the opening of new roads and telegraphic communications; he might and did try by his personal efforts and travels to improve the lot of his subjects, but all in vain. The journeys he began as Emperor he ended as a tourist, botanizing or admiring the scenery! As for his projects, he had no officials on whom he could rely to see them exe-



cuted, nor had he had the men, had he the means. Two Mexican loans launched in Europe had brought nothing into his treasury. Mexican credit had sunk too low to allow of such loans being fruitful while the treaty of Miramar, to which allusion has already been made, was a lien that would have absorbed the most successful of loans. To all this must be added the fact that the real master of the empire was not Maximilian. It was Marshal Bazaine. Nor were the real and nominal masters of the empire on good terms, though as yet their misunderstandings had not been made public. A rupture could have only been prevented between the two on condition that Maximilian had been full of wisdom and Bazaine high-souled. But, remarks M. de la Gorce, "Maximilian had not received the rare gift of wisdom and Bazaine would have been astonished if any one had praised him for his nobility of soul."

Mexico, by the extent and nature of its territory, was particularly fitted for partisan warfare. Juarez and his friends took advantage of this. March and counter-march as the French troops would, the guerillas dispersed at one point speedily appeared at another. Over and over again messages went off to Europe announcing that Mexico was pacified, followed by other messages that the guerillas had surprised this or that post, or cut to pieces a French detachment in the mountains, or defeated the new formed Belgian Legion with a loss of sixty killed and wounded and two hundred Belgians prisoners. These guerillas derived much help from the manifest hostility of the United States to the new Mexican empire. To it the States had been consistently opposed. They had refused from the outset to have any share in European intervention in Mexico. Amid the troubles of the Civil War the American government had never failed for a moment in letting Europe, and especially France, know how it utterly disliked Maximilian's wild adventure. And when the Civil War had ended that language became almost brutally plain towards France and more than once it seemed as if France and the United States would have come to blows over the Mexican empire. But the French dared not coerce and could not cajole the United States into friendship for the Mexican empire. Thenceforth it should have been clear to all concerned that Maximilian's empire was doomed.

The French Deputies, unlike their noisy, excitable, rowdy successors of to-day, conducted their debates with great gravity and rarely expressed, except by well-timed applause or a sarcastically worded remark, or by icy silence, approval or disapproval of government proposals. Now they had begun to feel that the country was growing weary of the Mexican business, and signs of this were given whenever the question came up on demands from the government for fresh credits. The quietly expressed dislike of the legisla-

ture was more noisily expressed by the public. The official reports from Mexico, the *Journal des Débats* ventured to remark, might be put in a single phrase: "Juarez continues a fugitive as already reported." The many small investors in the Mexican loans trembled for their savings, while the peasantry became alarmed for their sons in danger from the guerillas or from the deadly fevers. These warning signs did not escape the quick eyes of the Emperor. There was another source, too, from which he learned that the Mexican expedition should be ended, and that was the private letters that reached him from staff officers in Mexico. The conclusion of all these letters was that it was high time to get away from "the Mexican hornets' nest."<sup>4</sup> The Tuileries began to lose courage. The Emperor's Mexican dream had become an unpleasant nightmare. He determined to be rid of it. With the opening of the Chambers in January, 1866, came the announcement that the Emperor Napoleon had decided to withdraw his troops from Mexico. Bazaine was warned by letter and Maximilian by an official messenger.

The new year began darkly in Mexico. The country was so little pacified that a Belgian diplomatic mission was attacked by guerillas and four of its members killed within a short distance from the capital. The treasury was empty, and had it not been for money doled out to him by Bazaine, whom he now thoroughly disliked, Maximilian's government would have been openly bankrupt. Clamors for evacuation and continual protests and vexations came from the United States. Then Napoleon's messenger arrived. Maximilian, still hopeful, would not credit his message, and sent off Almonte to Paris to endeavor to persuade Napoleon to withdraw his threat of evacuating Mexico. Almonte's mission met with no success. Napoleon curtly refused to do anything more for Mexico. He was weary of a business that was too evidently a failure. Like many another weak man, and Napoleon was a weak man, he wanted to get his failure out of sight, buried in oblivion, and on this he was now bent with that firmness that is begotten of weakness. Almonte reported to his sovereign the ill success of his efforts. The last act but one of the Mexican tragedy now began.

The Empress Charlotte was not devoid of ambition and endowed with a strong will. She had certainly approved of, perhaps had urged on her husband the acceptance of the wretched imperial crown of Mexico. Now with a valiant heart, she determined to make a supreme effort to save that crown. She set out for Europe after, it is said, having with difficulty got together money enough for the expenses of the journey of herself and her suite. On August 8, 1866, she landed in France. The Emperor had been warned of her coming

---

<sup>4</sup> P. de la Gorce, op. cit. IV., 377.

by messages telegraphed through the cable that now connected the United States with England. Napoleon strove to avoid or anyhow to adjourn giving audience to the imperial supplicant. He was really ill. Austria had just been beaten down at Sadowa. France had had to stand by, hesitating and helpless, and that because the Mexican expedition had weakened her resources in men, money and warlike materials. The French Empress and the chief Ministers of Napoleon visited the Empress Charlotte. They listened with sympathy to her pleadings, but one and all let her feel that it was hopeless to expect France to do more, or even to continue to keep an army in Mexico. Finance Minister Fould listened for two hours at a time to her eloquent supplications. "If I listen any longer to your Majesty," he said as he rose to end one of these interviews, "I shall forget that I am Finance Minister of France." At last Napoleon received the Empress Charlotte at Saint-Cloud. It was a long, some said it was a stormy interview. Napoleon strove to refute his illustrious visitor's arguments, but when with the earnestness of despair, the Empress continued to plead her cause, he took refuge in silence until the Empress passionately exclaimed: "Then my husband will abdicate." And the Emperor, who would then have been only too pleased to see Maximilian abdicate, replied: "So be it—abdicate."<sup>5</sup> A few days later Napoleon wrote to Bazaine: "I have told the Empress Charlotte that she must not expect from France another soldier nor another *sou*."

Meanwhile Maximilian was making efforts on his part to save his crown. He saw the French every day decreasing the area of territory they occupied preparatory to their final departure from the country, which the Paris *Moniteur* had announced to begin in the autumn. He saw the followers of Juarez daily gaining ground and those on whom he had relied losing heart. His own Mexican troops were of doubtful loyalty; his Austrian legion only longed to be home; the Belgians had got neither the lands nor the pay they were promised, while their officers, lent for two years from the Belgian army, were returning to Belgium unable to get an extension of leave to serve in Mexico. Meanwhile Maximilian distrusted and disliked Marshal Bazaine more and more. Bazaine was well aware of this, and knew, too, that the Empress had taken with her to Paris a report of him that calumniated rather than detracted from his character. Bazaine was not the man to forgive any offense the Emperor had offered him. His opportunity for revenge came when Maximilian tried to entangle the French still more in the Mexican business by appointing a French staff officer to be his War Minister and a French commissariat official to be his Finance Minister. Bazaine bade these

---

<sup>5</sup> P. de la Gorce, op. cit. V., 84.



officers choose between remaining Ministers or remaining French officers. It can readily be imagined that the officers preferred their commissions to the portfolios of Ministers of a fast crumbling empire. At the same time Maximilian's policy underwent another change. He thought to revert to his earliest friends, the Conservatives of Mexico. One was named his Prime Minister who happened to be the friend of the Archbishop of Mexico. But if the Conservatives were rich, they were not influential nor were they likely to regain the confidence of the clergy in Maximilian, whose liberalism had estranged the clergy from him. Clearly, then, in that hour of need these changes in his policy were of no avail.

Amid these perplexities a telegram in cipher reached the Emperor. The official as he began to make out its contents turned deadly pale and tried to hide them from the Emperor, who was at his side. The Empress Charlotte, having failed in Paris, had gone on to implore the aid of Pius IX. in Rome. There she had been stricken, within the very walls of the Vatican, by illness, and had been removed to Miramar, where a doctor Riedel was attending her. That was the news the telegraph had brought. Calling to his own Austrian doctor, the Emperor asked: "Do you know this Viennese doctor?" Dr. Basch replied: "He is the director of the asylum for the insane." Maximilian knew the worst. The unfortunate Empress had lost her reason. For Maximilian this was a crushing blow; for her the infliction was perhaps a crowning mercy, for it hid from her the horrible last act of this Mexican tragedy.

It was on October 18, 1866, that Maximilian received the crushing news about the Empress Charlotte. Almost at the same time arrived in Mexico Brigadier General Castelnau, A. D. C. of Napoleon III. He came armed with full powers to hasten the evacuation and to bring about the abdication of the Emperor Maximilian. As he traveled up to the capital, he passed Maximilian and his court on their way to Orizaba and, as was then generally believed, taking the first step towards the Emperor's abdication and departure for Europe. To this end negotiations were carried on between the different parties concerned, and Castelnau was able to report to Paris that the abdication was not far off. Unfortunately the report proved premature. Maximilian wavered in his resolutions. His Mexican Conservative supporters and some of his friends in Europe persuaded him to delay his abdication. Bazaine, too, at this time seems to have desired that this should not take place speedily. The Marshal had family and financial reasons for wishing to prolong Maximilian's reign and the French occupation as long as possible, and many of those who served under him believed the Marshal had a hidden desire to succeed to the empire. Of this, as Bazaine never revealed his secret, no proof is possible. Anyhow he gave Maximilian hope by saying the French occupation might be prolonged until the autumn

of 1867. Thus it came about that a council was held at Orizaba, and Maximilian instead of descending to the coast returned to the capital and announced that he would remain Emperor until such time as a national congress could be called to select his successor.

Acting under orders from home, the French troops were preparing their retreat from Mexico. Outlying towns and villages were abandoned and were at once snapped up by the soldiers of Juarez. North and south and away west the country was daily falling into his hands. The end of the empire was approaching with giant's strides. Along all the roads leading towards Queretaro French soldiers were on the march to concentrate there before leaving for France. With the retreating French came carts and carriages, the one laden with household goods, the others filled with Mexicans who had supported the empire. They dared not await the Republicans who pressed closely on the rear of the French, but without daring to attack them.

The French spared no effort to persuade Maximilian to abdicate and to quit the country with them. Napoleon, as if to force the Emperor to abdicate, telegraphed that all foreigners, whether French, Austrian or Belgians, in the Mexican service, should be invited to embark with the French. This was effectually depriving Maximilian of the only guards on whom he could have fully relied when the French had gone. Then Dano, the French ambassador, and General Castelnau waited on him to urge on him to abdicate. The same advice was tendered by Vandersmissen, the commander of the Belgian Legion. Bazaine had labored unwisely, and, as it would seem, from personal motives, to prolong the reign. This had led to his being falsely charged with treachery to Maximilian. Now even he, at a council held on January 14, 1867, declared in favor of abdication. The majority of the council, composed of Mexican Conservatives, were in favor of continuing the struggle. Maximilian, who could not bear the thought of returning as a discrowned monarch to Europe under French convoy, accepted the advice of the majority. He immediately took measures such as a forced levy of recruits for his army, to prepare to resist the advancing Republicans. While these were in progress a regrettable conflict arose between Bazaine and the Emperor which did not speak well for the generosity of the one nor for the tact of the other. All communications ceased between the court and French headquarters. It was only when actually on shipboard that Bazaine sent a messenger to the Emperor Maximilian, entreating him before it was too late to set sail with him for Europe. But the Emperor refused this supreme offer, and on March 11 Bazaine and his army left Mexico forever.

"At last I am free," Maximilian is said to have exclaimed as he watched from behind the half-closed windows of his palace the de-

parture of the last French troops. Free he certainly was from the baneful friendship of Napoleon III., from French financial demands, from the low intrigues of Bazaine. But how long would the freedom of this Prince without resources last? He got together a force of some ten thousand men. He had as his generals the brave Miramon, whom he had hitherto distrusted, the experienced General Mejia, much beloved in the country around Queretaro, and Marques, brave but unscrupulous, a typical free-lance. Miramon, pushing forward to meet the advancing Republicans, scored a victory, soon followed by a reverse. Juarez captured among others on this occasion one hundred Frenchmen and caused the whole batch to be shot in cold blood. When the United States remonstrated with Juarez on this cruel butchery, the answer made was that these men by Bazaine's own declarations had lost the protection of their country and were nothing but vulgar rebels taken with arms in their hands. After this reverse Maximilian took up position at Queretaro, which was soon beleaguered by the Republicans. Marquez, with a body of cavalry, made his way out of the place and went to the capital, over which the imperial flag still floated, to seek reinforcements. For two months the siege, marked by some successful sorties of the garrison of Queretaro, went on. Sickness and desertion among its defenders began then to herald the end. That end came suddenly through the treachery of the wretched traitor Colonel Lopez, who, on the morning of May 15, admitted the enemy into the place. Maximilian had only time to seize his arms, rally his most trusty friends and make a last stand on a hill overlooking the town. Artillery fire quickly made the position untenable; the numbers of Republicans around it made it impossible to cut a way through their lines. The white flag was hoisted and Maximilian surrendered, giving up his sword to General Escobedo.

The Mexican empire had ended. Its Emperor was a prisoner in the hands of an implacable enemy. That enemy was Juarez. Had he chosen at this time to forget the *lex talionis*, had he forgotten the decree by which his prisoner had ordered Republican prisoners to be shot as rebels, Juarez by an act of supreme mercy, might have crowned a tenacious and not inglorious struggle of five years' duration for the Republican cause by earning the character of a generous patriot. He preferred not merely the *lex talionis*, but the brutal retaliation of a savage. Tried by martial law, Maximilian was sentenced to be shot. He met his fate with dignity, Christian resignation and courage. On June 19 he was shot, together with his two generals, Miramon and Mejia, on the very hill above Queretaro where they had made their last stand. Juarez had turned a deaf ear to all who pleaded for mercy. He listened neither to the diplomatic



representations of the German ambassador, speaking in the name, it might be said, of the civilized world, nor even to prayers of women of his own nation. In this he was within his strict rights. But where his ferocity showed itself was in his refusal to give up the body of Maximilian even when Admiral Tegethoff, the hero of Lissa, came, not to demand it in the name of Austria, but to beg it for a sorrowing mother. He would only give it up by way of barter, to obtain Austria's recognition of his position.

So the curtain falls on this Mexican tragedy. Not a personage, not a nation concerned in it gained credit. France lost heavily, for it made her powerless to oppose the making of Germany after the victory of Sadowa. And the rest of Europe learned that in the United States a power existed that left no room for European intervention in American affairs.

WILFRID C. ROBINSON.

Bruges, Belgium.

LETTRE APOSTOLIQUE DE SA SAINTETE LE PAPE  
LEON XIII.A TOUS LES PATRIARCHES, PRIMATS, ARCHEVEQUES ET EVEQUES  
DU MONDE CATHOLIQUE.

LEON XIII. PAPE.

*Vénérables Frères Salut et Bénédiction Apostolique.*

P ARVENU à la vingt-cinquième année de Notre Ministère apostolique, et étonné Nous-même de la longueur du chemin qu'au milieu d'âpres et continuels soucis Nous avons parcouru, Nous Nous sentons tout naturellement porté à élever Notre pensée vers le Dieu à jamais béni, qui, parmi tant d'autres faveurs a bien voulu Nous accorder un Pontificat d'une durée telle qu'on en rencontre à peine quelques-uns de pareils dans l'histoire. C'est donc vers le Père de tous les hommes, vers Celui qui tient dans ses mains le mystérieux secret de la vie, que s'élance, comme un impérieux besoin de Notre cœur, l'hymne de Notre action de grâces. Assurément, l'œil de l'homme ne peut pas sonder toute la profondeur des desseins de Dieu, lorsqu'il a ainsi prolongé au delà de toute espérance notre vieillesse; et ici Nous ne pouvons que Nous taire et l'adorer. Mais il y a pourtant une chose que Nous savons bien, c'est que s'il Lui a plu, et s'il Lui plaît de conserver encore Notre existence, un grand devoir Nous incombe: vivre pour le bien et le développement de son Epouse immaculée, la Sainte Eglise, et, loin de perdre courage en face des soucis et des peines, lui consacrer le restant de Nos forces jusqu'à Notre dernier soupir.

Après avoir payé le tribut d'une juste reconnaissance à notre Père céleste, à qui soient honneur et gloire pendant toute l'éternité, il Nous est très agréable de revenir vers vous par la pensée et de vous adresser la parole, à vous, Vénérables Frères, qui, appelés par l'Esprit Saint à gouverner des portions choisies du troupeau de Jésus-Christ, participez par cela même avec Nous aux luttes et aux triomphes, aux douleurs et aux joies du ministère des Pasteurs. Non, elles ne s'évanouiront jamais de Notre mémoire, les nombreuses et remarquables preuves de religieuse vénération que vous Nous avez prodiguées au cours de Notre Pontificat, et que vous multipliez encore avec une émulation pleine de tendresse dans les circonstances présentes. Intimement uni à vous déjà par Notre devoir et par Notre amour paternel, ces témoignages de votre dévouement, extrêmement chers à Notre cœur, Nous y ont attaché

encore, moins pour ce qu' ils avaient de personnel en ce qui Nous regarde, que pour l'attachement inviolable qu'ils dénotaient à ce Siège Apostolique, centre et soutien de tous les austres sièges de la catholicité. S' il a toujours été nécessaire qu'aux divers degrés de de la hiérarchie ecclésiastique tous les enfants de l'Eglise se tinssent jalousement unis dans les liens d'une charité réciproque et dans la poursuite des mêmes desseins, de manière à ne former qu'un cœur et qu' une âme, cette union est devenue de nos temps plus indispensable que jamais. Qui peut ignorer en effet l'immense conjuration de forces hostiles qui vise aujourd'hui à ruiner et à faire disparaître la grande œuvre de Jésus-Christ, en essayant, avec un acharnement que ne connaît plus de limites, dans l'ordre intellectuel, de ravir à l'homme le trésor des vérités célestes, et, dans l'ordre social, de déraciner les plus saintes, les plus salutaires institutions chrétiennes? Mais tout cela, vous en êtes, vous-mêmes, frappés, tous les jours, vous qui Nous avez plus d'une fois exprimé vos préoccupations et vos angoisses, en déplorant la multitude de préjugés, de faux systèmes et d'erreurs qu'on sème impunément au milieu des foules. Que de pièges ne tend-on point de tous côtés aux âmes croyantes? Que d'obstacles ne multiplie-t-on pas pour affaiblir et, autant que possible, pour annihiler la bienfaisante action de l'Eglise? Et, en attendant, comme pour ajouter la dérision à l'injustice, c'est l'Eglise elle-même qu' on accuse de ne pas savoir recouvrer sa vertu antique, et d'être impuissante à endiguer le torrent de passions débordées qui menace de tout emporter!

Nous voudrions bien vous entretenir, Vénérables Frères, d'un sujet moins triste et qui fût en harmonie plus grande avec l'heureuse circonstance qui Nous incline à vous parler. Mais rien ne comporte un pareil langage, ni les graves épreuves de l'Eglise, qui appellent avec instance un prompt secours, ni les conditions de la société contemporaine qui, déjà fortement travaillée au point de vue moral et matériel, s'achemine vers des destinées encore pires par l'abandon des grandes traditions chrétiennes: une loi de la Providence, confirmée par l'histoire, prouvant qu'on ne peut pas porter atteinte aux grands principes religieux, sans ébranler en même temps les bases de l'ordre et de la prospérité sociale. Dans ces circonstances, pour permettre aux âmes de reprendre haleine, pour les réapprovisionner de foi et de courage, il Nous paraît opportun et utile de considérer attentivement, dans son origine, dans ses causes, dans ses formes multiples, l'implacable guerre, que l'on fait à l'Eglise, et, en dénonçant les funestes conséquences, d'en assigner les remèdes. Que Notre parole résonne donc bien haut, quoiqu'elle doive rappeler des vérités affirmées d'autres fois déjà; qu'elle soit entendue non seulement par les fils de l'unité catholique, mais encore par les dissidents



et même par les infortunés qui n'ont plus la foi ; car ils sont tous enfants du même Père, tous destinés au même bien suprême, qu'elle soit accueillie enfin comme le testament qu' à la faible distance où Nous sommes des portes de l'éternité Nous voulons laisser aux peuples comme un présage du salut que Nous désirons pour tous.

De tout temps, la Sainte Eglise du Christ a eu à combattre et à souffrir pour la vérité et pour la justice. Instituée par le divin Rédempteur lui-même pour propager dans le monde le règne de Dieu, elle doit conduire, aux clartés de la loi évangélique, l'humanité déchue vers ses immortelles destinées c'est-à-dire la faire entrer en possession des biens sans fin que Dieu nous a promis, à la hauteur desquels, nos seules forces ne nous permettent pas de monter : céleste mission dans l'accomplissement de laquelle elle ne pouvait que se heurter aux innombrables passions reçues de l'antique déchéance et de la corruption qu'elle a engendrée, orgueil, cupidité, amour effréné des jouissances matérielles, vices et désordres qui en découlent et qui ont tous rencontré dans l'Eglise le frein le plus puissant.

Le fait de ces persécutions ne doit pas nous étonner ; ne nous ont elles pas été prédites par le Divin Maître et ne savons-nous pas qu'elles dureront autant que le monde ? Que dit en effet le Sauveur à ses disciples, lorsqu'il les envoya porter le trésor de sa doctrine à toutes les nations ? Personne ne l'ignore : "Vous serez poursuivis de ville en ville, à cause de mon nom, vous serez haïs, méprisés, vous serez traduits devant les tribunaux et condamnés aux derniers des châtiments." Et pour les encourager à supporter de telles épreuves il se donna lui-même en exemple : "Si le monde vous hait, sachez qu'il m'a haï avant vous, tout le premier." "Si mundus vos odit, scitote quia me priorem vobis odio habuit." (Io. xv., 18.) Voilà les joies, voilà les récompenses qu'ici-bas le Divin Sauveur nous promet.

Quiconque juge sainement et simplement des choses ne pourra jamais découvrir la raison d'une pareille haine. Qui donc le divin Redempteur avait-il jamais offensé, ou en quoi avait-il démérité ? Descendu sur cette terre sous l'impulsion d'une charité infinie, Il y avait enseigné une doctrine sans tache, consolatrice et on ne peut mieux faite pour unir fraternellement tous les hommes dans la paix et dans l'amour. Il n'avait convoité ni les grandeurs de ce monde, ni ses honneurs et n'avait usurpé sur le droit de personne : bien au contraire, on l'avait vu infiniment compatissant pour les faibles, pour les malades, pour les pauvres, pour les pécheurs et pour les opprimés ; en sorte qu'Il n'avait passé dans la vie que pour semer à pleines mains parmi les hommes ses divins bienfaits. Ce fut donc un pur excès de malice de la part de ces hommes, excès d'autant plus lament-

able qu'il était plus injuste, et suivant la prophétie de Siméon, le Sauveur devint le signe de la contradiction sur cette terre "Signum cui contradicetur." (Luc. ii., 34.)

Faut-il s'étonner dès lors si l'Eglise catholique qui est la continuatrice de la mission divine de Jésus-Christ et l'incorruptible gardienne de sa vérité, n'a pas pu échapper au sort du Maître? Le monde ne change pas; à côté des enfants de Dieu, se trouvent toujours les séides du grand ennemi du genre humain, de celui qui, rebelle au Très-Haut dès le principe, est appelé dans l'Evangile la prince de ce monde. Et voilà pourquoi, en face de la loi divine et de qui la lui présente au nom de Dieu, ce monde sent bouillonner et se soulever en lui, dans un orgueil sans mesure, un esprit d'indépendance auquel il n'a aucun droit! Ah! que de fois, avec une cruauté inouïe, avec une impudente injustice et pour la perte évidente de toute la société, que de fois, dans les époques les plus agitées, les ennemis de l'Eglise ne se sont-ils pas formés en colonnes profondes pour renverser l'œuvre divine!

Un genre de persécution restait-il sans succès? ils essayaient d'un autre. Pendant trois grands siècles, l'Empire romain, abusant de la force brutale, parsema toutes ses provinces des cadavres de nos martyrs et empourpra de leur sang chacune des mottes de terre de cette ville sacrée. Puis l'hérésie, tantôt sous un masque et tantôt le visage à découvert, recourut aux sophismes et à des artifices perfides, afin de briser l'harmonie de l'Eglise et son unité. Comme une tempête dévastatrice, se déchainèrent ensuite, du nord les barbares, et du midi l'Islamisme, laissant partout derrière elle des ruines dans un immense désert. Ainsi se transmettait de siècle le triste héritage de haine sous lequel l'Epouse du Christ était accablée. Alors vint un césarisme, soupçonneux autant que puissant, jaloux de la grandeur d'autrui, quelque développement qu'il eut d'ailleurs donné à la sienne, et qui se reprit à livrer d'incessants assauts à l'Eglise pour faire main basse sur des droits et pour fouler aux pieds sa liberté. Le cœur saigne à voir cette Mère si souvent assiégé par les angoisses et par d'inexprimables douleurs! Cependant, triomphant de tous les obstacles, de toutes les violences et de toutes les tyrannies, elle plantait toujours, de plus en plus largement ses tentes pacifiques, elle sauvait du désastre le glorieux patrimoine des arts, de l'histoire, des sciences et des lettres, et, en faisant, pénétrer profondément l'esprit de l'Evangile dans toute l'étendue du corps social, elle créait de toutes pièces la civilisation chrétienne, cette civilisation à qui les peuples, soumis à sa bienfaisante influence, doivent l'équité des lois, la douceur des mœurs, la protection des faibles, la piété pour les pauvres et pour les malheureux, le respect des droits et de la dignité de tous les hommes et, par là même, autant du moins que

cela est possible au milieu des fluctuations humaines, ce calme dans la vie sociale qui dérive d'un accord sage entre la justice et la liberté.

Ces preuves de la bonté intrinsèque de l'Eglise sont aussi éclatantes et sublimes qu'elles ont eu de durée. Et cependant, comme au moyen-âge et durant les premiers siècles, dans des temps plus voisins du nôtre, nous voyons cette Eglise assaillie, d'une certaine façon au moins, plus durement et plus douloureusement que jamais. Par suite d'une série de causes historiques bien connues, la prétendue Réforme leva au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle l'étendard de la révolte, et, résolue à frapper l'Eglise en plein cœur, elle s'en prit audacieusement à la Papauté; elle rompit le lien si précieux de foi et d'autorité, qui, centuplant bien souvent la force, le prestige, la gloire, grâce à la poursuite harmonieuse des mêmes desseins, réunissait tous les peuples sous une seule houlette et un seul pasteur, et elle introduisit ainsi dans les rangs chrétiens un principe funeste de lamentable désagrégation.

Ce n'est pas que Nous prétendions affirmer par là que dès le début même du mouvement on eût en vue de bannir le principe du christianisme du sein de la société; mais, en refusant d'une part de reconnaître la suprématie due Siège de Rome, cause effective et lien de l'unité, et en proclamant de l'autre le principe du libre examen, on ébranlait, jusque dans ses derniers fondements, le divin édifice et on ouvrait la voie à des variations infinies, aux doutes et aux négations sur les matières les plus importantes, si bien que les prévisions des novateurs eux-mêmes furent dépassées.

Le chemin était ouvert: alors surgit le philosophisme orgueilleux et railleur du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, et il va plus loin. Il tourne en dérision le recueil sacré des Ecritures et rejette en bloc toutes les vérités divinement révélées, dans le but d'en arriver finalement à déraciner de la conscience des peuples toute croyance religieuse et à y étouffer jusqu'au dernier souffle l'esprit chrétien. C'est de cette source que découlèrent le rationalisme et le panthéisme, le naturalisme et le matérialisme; systèmes funestes et délétères qui réinstaurèrent, sous de nouvelles apparences, des erreurs antiques déjà victorieusement réfutées par les Pères et par les Docteurs de l'Eglise, en sorte que l'orgueil des siècles modernes, par un excès de confiance dans ses propres lumières, fut frappé de cécité et, comme le paganisme, ne se nourrit plus que de rêveries, même en ce qui concerne les attributs de l'âme humaine et les immortelles destinées qui constituent son privilège glorieux.

La lutte contre l'Eglise prenait ainsi un caractère de gravité plus grande que par le passé, non moins à cause de la véhémence des attaques qu'à cause de leur universalité. L'incrédulité contemporaine ne se borne pas en effet à révoquer en doute ou à nier telle ou



telle vérité de foi. Ce qu'elle combat, c'est l'ensemble même des principes que la révélation consacre et que la vraie philosophie soutient; principes fondamentaux et sacrés qui apprennent à l'homme le but suprême de son passage dans la vie, qui le maintiennent dans le devoir, qui versent dans son âme le courage et la résignation et qui, en lui promettant une incorruptible justice et une félicité parfaite au delà de la tombe, le forment à subordonner le temps à l'éternité, la terre au ciel. Or, que mettait-on à la place de ces préceptes, réconforts incomparables fournis par la foi! Un effroyable scepticisme qui glace les cœurs et qui étouffe dans la conscience toutes les aspirations magnanimes.

Des doctrines aussi funestes n'ont que trop passé comme vous le voyez, ô Vénérables Frères, du domaine des idées dans la vie extérieure et dans les sphères publiques. De grands et puissants états vont sans cesse les traduisant dans la pratique, et ils s'imaginent ainsi faire œuvre de civilisation et prendre la tête du progrès. Et, comme si les pouvoirs publics ne devaient pas ramasser en eux-mêmes et refléter tout ce qu'il y a de plus sain dans la vie morale ils se sont tenus pour affranchis du devoir d'honorer Dieu publiquement, et il n'advient que trop souvent qu'en se vantant de rester indifférents en face toutes les religions, de fait ils font la guerre à seule religion institutée par Dieu.

Ce système d'athéisme pratique devait nécessairement jeter, et de fait a jeté une perturbation profonde dans le domaine de la morale; car, ainsi que l'ont entrevu les sages les plus fameux de l'antiquité païenne, la religion est le fondement principal de la justice et de la vertu. Quand on rompt les liens qui unissent l'homme à Dieu, Législateur souverain et Juge universel, il ne reste plus qu'un fantôme de morale: morale purement civile, ou, comme on l'appelle, indépendante, qui, faisant abstraction de toute raison éternelle et des lois divines, nous entraîne inévitablement et par une pente fatale à cette conséquence dernière d'assigner l'homme à l'homme comme sa propre loi. Incapable dès lors de s'élever sur les ailes de l'espérance chrétienne jusque vers les biens supérieurs, cet homme ne cherche plus qu'un aliment matériel dans l'ensemble des jouissances et des commodités de la vie; en lui s'allument la soif des plaisirs, la cupidité des richesses, l'âpre désir des gains rapides et sans mesure, doive la justice en souffrir; en lui s'enflamment en même temps toutes les ambitions et je ne sais quelle avidité fiévreuse et frénétique de les satisfaire, même d'une manière illégitime; en lui enfin s'établissent en maîtres le mépris des lois et de l'autorité publique et une licence de mœurs qui, en devenant générale, entraîne avec soi un véritable déclin de la société.

Mais peut-être, exagérons-nous les tristes conséquences des trou-

bles douloureux dont nous parlons? Non, car la réalité est là, à notre portée et elle ne confirme que trop nos deductions. Il est manifeste en effet que, si on ne les raffermir pas au plus tôt les bases mêmes de la société vont chanceler et qu'elles entraîneront dans leur chute les grands principes du droit et de la morale éternelle.

C'est de là que proviennent les graves préjudices qu'ont eu à souffrir toutes les parties du corps social à commencer par la famille. Car, l'état laïque, sans se souvenir de ses limites, ni du but essentiel de l'autorité qu'il détient, a porté la main sur le lien conjugal pour le profaner, en le dépouillant de son caractère religieux; il a entrepris autant qu'il le pouvait sur le droit naturel qu'ont les parents en ce qui concerne l'éducation des enfants; et dans plusieurs endroits, il a détruit la stabilité du mariage, en donnant à la licenciée institution du divorce une sanction légale. Or, chacun sait les fruits que ces empiètements ont portés: ils ont multiplié au delà de toute expression des mariages ébauchés seulement par de monteuses passions et par suite se dissolvant à bref délai, ou dégénéral, tantôt en luttas tragiques, tantôt en scandaleuses infidélités! Et Nous ne disons rein des enfants, innocente descendance qu'on néglige, ou qui se pervertit, ici au spectacle des mauvais exemples des parents, et là sous l'effet au spectacle des mauvais exemples des parents, et là sous l'effet du poison que l'état, devenu officiellement laïque, lui verse tous les jours.

Avec la famille l'ordre social et politique est, lui aussi, mis en danger, surtout pas les doctrines nouvelles, qui, assignant à la souveraineté une fausse origine, en ont corrompu par là même la véritable idee. Car si l'autorité souveraine découle formellement du consentement de la foule et non pas de Dieu, principe suprême et éternel de toute puissance, elle perd aux yeux des sujets son caractère le plus auguste, et elle dégénère en une souveraineté artificielle qui a pour assiette des bases instables et changeantes, comme la volonté des hommes dont on la fait dériver. Ne voyons-nous pas aussi les conséquences de cette erreur dans les lois? Trop souvent en effet, au lieu d'être la *raison écrite*, ces lois n'expriment plus que la puissance du nombre et la volonté prédominante d'un parti politique. C'est ainsi qu'on caresse les appétits coupables des foules et qu'on lâche les rênes aux passions populaires, même lorsqu'elles troublent la laborieuse tranquillité des citoyens, sauf à recourir ensuite, dans les cas extrêmes, à des répressions violentes où l'on voit couler le sang.

Les principes chrétiens répudiés, ces principes qui sont si puissamment efficaces pour sceller la fraternité des peuples et pour réunir l'humanité tout entière dans une sorte de grande famille, peu à peu prévalu dans l'ordre international un système d'égoïsme jaloux, par

suite duquel les nations se regardent mutuellement, sinon toujours avec haine, du moins certainement avec la défiance qui anime des rivaux. Voilà pourquoi dans leurs entreprises elles sont facilement entraînées à laisser dans l'oubli les grands principes de la moralité et de la justice, et la protection des faibles et des opprimés. Dans le désir qui les aiguillonne d'augmenter indéfiniment la richesse nationale, les nations ne regardent plus que l'opportunité des circonstances, l'utilité de la réussite et la tentante fortune des faits accomplis, sûres que personne ne les inquiètera, ensuite au nom du droit, et du respect qui lui est dû. Principes funestes, qui ont consaéré, la force matérielle, comme la loi suprême du monde, et à qui l'on doit imputer cet accroissement progressif et sans mesure des préparatifs militaires, ou cette paix armée comparable aux plus désastreux effets de la guerre, sous bien des rapports au moins.

Cette confusion lamentable dans le domaine des idées a fait germer au sein des classes populaires l'inquiétude, le malaise et l'esprit de révolte, de là une agitation et des désordres fréquents qui préludent à des tempêtes plus redoutables encore. La misérable condition d'une si grande partie du menu peuple, assurément bien digne de relèvement et de secours, sert admirablement les desseins d'agitateurs pleins de finesse, et en particulier ceux des factions socialistes, qui, en prodiguant aux classes les plus humbles de folles promesses, s'acheminent vers l'accomplissement des plus effrayants desseins.

Qui s'engage sur une pente dangereuse roule forcément jusqu'au fond de l'abîme. Avec une logique qui a vengé les principes, s'est donc organisée une véritable association de criminels. D'instincts tout à fait sauvages, dès ses premiers coups, elle a consterné le monde. Grâce à sa constitution solide et à ses ramifications internationales, elle est déjà en mesure de lever partout sa main scélérate, sans craindre aucun obstacle et sans reculer devant aucun forfait. Ses affiliés, répudiant toute union avec la société, et rompant cyniquement avec les lois, la religion et la morale, ont pris le nom d'*anarchistes*; ils se proposent de renverser de fond en comble la société actuelle, en employant tous les moyens qu'une passion aveugle et sauvage peut suggérer. Et, comme la société reçoit l'unité et la vie de l'autorité qui la gouverne, c'est contre l'autorité tout d'abord que l'anarchie dirige ses coups. Comment ne pas frémir d'horreur, autant que d'indignation et de pitié, au souvenir des nombreuses victimes tombées dans les dernières années, empereurs, impératrices, rois, présidents de républiques puissantes, dont l'unique crime consistait dans le pouvoir suprême dont ils étaient investis?

Devant l'immensité des maux qui accablent la société et des périls qui la menacent, Notre devoir exige que Nous avertissions une fois encore les hommes de bonne volonté, surtout ceux qui occupent



les situations les plus hautes, et que Nous les conjurons, comme Nous le faisons en ce moment, de réfléchir aux remèdes que la situation exige et, avec une prévoyante énergie, de les appliquer sans retard.

Avant tout, il faut se demander quel sont ces remèdes et en scruter la valeur. La liberté et ses bienfaits, voilà d'abord ce que Nous avons entendu porter jusques aux nues ; en elle, on exaltait le remède souverain, un incomparable instrument de paix féconde et de prospérité, Mais les faits ont lumineusement démontré qu'elle ne possédait pas l'efficacité qu'on lui prêtait. Des conflits économiques, des luttes de classes s'allument et font éruption de tous les côtés, et l'on ne voit pas même briller l'aurore d'une vie publique où le calme régnerait. Du reste, et chacun peut le constater, telle qu'on l'entend aujourd'hui, c'est à dire indistinctement accordée à la vérité et à l'erreur, au bien et au mal, la liberté n'aboutit qu'à rabaisser tout ce qu'il y a de noble, de saint, de généreux, et à ouvrir plus largement la voie au crime, au suicide et à la tourbe abjecte des passions.

On a soutenu aussi que le développement de l'instruction, en rendant les foules plus polies et plus éclairées, suffirait à les prémunir contre leurs tendances malsaines et à les retenir dans les limites de la droiture et de la probité. Mais une dure réalité ne nous fait-elle pas toucher du doigt chaque jour à quoi sert une instruction que n'accompagne pas une solide instruction religieuse et morale ? Par suite de leur inexpérience et de la fermentation des passions, l'esprit des jeunes gens subit la fascination des doctrines perverses. Il se prend surtout aux erreurs qu'un journalisme sans frein ne craint pas de semer à pleines mains et qui, en dépravant à la fois l'intelligence et la volonté, alimentent dans la jeunesse cet esprit d'orgueil et d'insubordination, qui trouble si souvent la paix des familles et le calme des cités.

On avait mis aussi beaucoup de confiance dans les progrès de la science. De fait, le siècle dernier en a vu de bien grands, de bien inattendus, de bien merveilleux assurément. Mais est-il si vrai que ces progrès nous aient donné l'abondance de fruits, pleine et réparatrice, que le désir d'un si grand nombre d'hommes en attendait ? Sans doute, le vol de la science a ouvert de nouveaux horizons à notre esprit, il a agrandi l'empire de l'homme sur les forces de la matière et la vie dans ce monde s'en est trouvée adoucie à bien des égards. Néanmoins tous sentent, et beaucoup confessent que la réalité n'a pas été à la hauteur des espérances. On ne peut pas le nier, quand on prend garde à l'état des esprits et des mœurs, à la statistique criminelle, aux sourdes rumeurs qui montent d'en bas et à la prédominance de la force sur le droit. Pour ne point parler encore des foules qui sont la proie de la misère, il suffit de jeter un

coup d'œil, même superficiel, sur le monde, pour constater qu'une indéfinissable tristesse pèse sur les âmes et qu'un vide immense existe dans les cœurs. L'homme a bien pu s'assujettir la matière, mais la matière n'a pas pu lui donner ce qu'elle n'a pas, et aux grandes questions qui ont trait à nos intérêts les plus élevés, la science humaine n'a pas donné de réponse; la soif de vérité, de bien, d'infini, qui nous dévore, n'a pas été étanchée, et ni les joies et les trésors de la terre, ni l'accroissement des aises de la vie n'ont pu endormir l'angoisse morale au fond des cœurs. N'y a-t'il donc qu'à dédaigner ou à laisser de côté les avantages qui découlent de l'instruction, de la science, de la civilisation et d'une sage et douce liberté? Non certes; il faut au contraire les tenir en haute estime, les conserver et les accroître comme un capital de prix; car ils constituent des moyens qui de leur nature sont bons, voulus par Dieu lui-même et ordonnés par l'infinie sagesse au bien de la famille humaine et à son profit. Mais il faut en subordonner l'usage aux intentions du Créateur et faire en sorte qu'on ne les sépare jamais de l'élément religieux, dans lequel réside la vertu, qui leur confère, avec une valeur particulière leur véritable fécondité. Tel est le secret du problème. Quand un être organique dépérit et se corrompt, c'est qu'il a cessé d'être sous l'action des causes qui lui avaient donné sa forme et sa constitution. Pour le refaire sain et florissant, pas de doute qu'il ne faille le soumettre de nouveau à l'action vivifiante de ces mêmes causes. Or la société actuelle, dans la folle tentative qu'elle a faite pour échapper à son Dieu, a rejeté l'ordre surnaturel et la révélation divine; elle s'est soustraite ainsi à la salutaire efficacité du Christianisme, qui est manifestement la garantie la plus solide de l'ordre, le lien le plus fort de la fraternité et l'inépuisable source des vertus privées et publiques.

De cet abandon sacrilège est né le trouble qui la travaille actuellement. C'est donc dans le giron du Christianisme que cette société dévoyée doit rentrer, si son bien-être, son repos et son salut lui tiennent au cœur.

De même que le Christianisme ne pénètre pas dans une âme sans l'améliorer, de même il n'entre pas dans la vie publique d'un peuple sans l'ordonner. Avec l'idée d'un Dieu qui régit tout, qui est sage, infiniment bon et infiniment juste, il fait pénétrer dans la conscience humaine le sentiment du devoir, il adoucit la souffrance, il calme les haines et il engendre les héros. S'il a transformé la société païenne, et cette transformation fut une résurrection véritable, puisque la barbarie disparut à proportion que le Christianisme s'étendit, il saura bien de même, après les terribles secousses de l'incrédulité remettre dans le véritable chemin et réinstaurer dans l'ordre les Etats modernes et les peuples contemporains.

Mais tout n'est point là : le retour au Christianisme ne sera pas un remède efficace et complet, s'il n'implique pas le retour et un amour sincère à l'Eglise une, sainte, catholique et apostolique. Le Christianisme s'incarne en effet dans l'Eglise catholique, il s'identifie avec cette société spirituelle et parfaite, souveraine dans son ordre, qui est le corps mystique Jésus-Christ, et qui a pour chef visible le Pontife Romain, successeur du Prince des Apôtres. Elle est la continuatrice de la mission du Sauveur, la fille et l'héritière de sa rédemption ; elle a propagé l'Evangile et elle l'a défendu au prix de son sang ; et, forte de l'assistance divine et de l'immortalité qui lui ont été promises, ne pactisant jamais avec l'erreur, elle reste fidèle au mandat qu'elle a reçu de porter la doctrine de Jésus-Christ à travers ce monde et, jusqu'à la fin des siècles, de l'y garder dans son inviolable intégrité.

Légitime dispensatrice des enseignements de l'Evangile, elle ne se révèle pas seulement à nous comme la consolatrice et la rédemptrice des âmes ; elle est encore l'éternelle source de la justice et de la charité, et la propagatrice en même temps que la gardienne de la liberté véritable et de la seule égalité qui soit possible ici-bas. En appliquant la doctrine de son divin Fondateur, elle maintient un sage équilibre et trace de justes limites entre tous les droits et tous les privilèges dans la société. L'égalité qu'elle proclame ne détruit pas la distinction des différentes classes sociales ; elle la veut intacte, parce qu'évidemment la nature même les requiert. Pour faire obstacle à l'anarchie de la raison émancipée de la foi et abandonnée à elle-même, la liberté qu'elle donne ne lèse ni les droits de la vérité, parce qu'ils sont supérieurs à ceux du nombre et de la force, ni les droits de Dieu, parce qu'ils sont supérieurs à ceux de l'humanité.

Au foyer domestique, l'Eglise n'est pas moins féconde en bons effets. Car non seulement elle résiste aux artifices que l'incrédulité met en œuvre pour attenter à la vie de la famille, mais elle prépare encore et elle sauvegarde l'union et la stabilité conjugale, dont elle protège et développe l'honneur, la fidélité, la sainteté. Elle soutient en même temps et elle cimente l'ordre civil et politique, en apportant d'une part une aide efficace à l'autorité, et de l'autre, en se montrant favorable aux sages réformes et aux justes aspirations des sujets ; en imposant le respect des Princes et l'obéissance qui leur est due et en défendant les droits imprescriptibles de la conscience humaine, sans jamais se lasser. Et c'est ainsi que grâce à elle les peuples soumis à son influence n'ont rien eu à craindre de la servitude, parce qu'elle a retenu les princes sur les pentes de la tyrannie.

Parfaitement conscient de cette efficacité divine, dès le commencement de Notre Pontificat, Nous Nous sommes soigneusement appliqué à mettre en pleine lumière et à faire ressortir les bienfaits



desseins de l'Eglise et à étendre le plus possible, avec le trésor de ses doctrines, le champ de son action salutaire.

Tel a été le but principaux actes de Notre Pontificat, notamment des Encycliques sur *philosophie chrétienne*, sur la *liberté humaine*, sur le *mariage chrétien*, sur la *franc-maçonnerie*, sur les *pouvoirs publics*, sur la *constitution chrétienne des Etats*, sur le *socialisme*, sur la *question ouvrière*, sur les *devoirs des citoyens chrétiens* et sur d'autres sujets analogues. - Mais le vœu ardent de Notre âme n'a pas été seulement d'éclairer les intelligences; Nous avons voulu encore remuer et purifier les cœurs, en appliquant tous nos efforts à faire reflourir au milieu des peuples vertus chrétiennes. Aussi ne cessons-nous pas de prodiguer les encouragements et les conseils pour élever les esprits jusqu'aux biens impérissables et pour les mettre ainsi à même de subordonner le corps à l'âme, le pèlerinage terrestre à la vie céleste et l'homme à Dieu.

Bénie par le Seigneur, Notre parole a pu contribuer à raffermir les convictions d'un grand nombre d'hommes, à les éclairer davantage au milieu des difficultés des questions actuelles, à stimuler leur zèle et à promouvoir les œuvres les plus variées. C'est surtout pour le bien des classes déshéritées que ces œuvres ont surgi et continuent à surgir encore dans tous les pays, parce qu'on a vu s'y raviver cette charité chrétienne qui a toujours trouvé au milieu du peuple son champ d'action le plus aimé. Si la moisson n'a pas été plus abondante, Vénérables Frères, adorons Dieu, mystérieusement juste, et supplions-le en même temps d'avoir pitié de l'aveuglement de tant d'âmes auxquelles peut malheureusement s'appliquer l'effrayante parole de l'apôtre: "*Deus huius saeculi excaecavit mentes infidelium, ut non fulgeat illis illuminatio evangelii gloriae Christi.*" (II. Cor. iv., 4.)

Plus l'Eglise Catholique donne d'extension à son zèle pour le bien moral et matériel des peuples, plus les enfants des ténèbres se lèvent haineusement contre elle et recourent à tous les moyens, afin de ternir sa beauté divine et de paralyser son action de vivifiante réparation. Que de sophismes ne propagent-ils pas, et que de calomnies! Un de leurs artifices les plus perfides consiste à redire sans cesse aux foules ignorantes et aux gouvernements envieux que l'Eglise est opposée aux progrès de la science, qu'elle est hostile à la liberté, que l'Etat voit ses droits usurpés par elle et que la politique est un champ qu'elle envahit à tout propos. Accusations insensées, qu'on a mille fois répétées et qu'ont mille fois réfutées aussi la saine raison, l'histoire et avec elles, tous ceux qui ont un cœur honnête et ami de la vérité.

L'Eglise, ennemie de la science et de l'instruction? Ah! sans doute elle est la vigilante gardienne du dogme révélé; mais c'est

cette vigilance elle-même qui l'incline à protéger la science et à favoriser la saine culture de l'esprit ! Non ! en ouvrant son intelligence aux révélations du Verbe, vérité suprême de qui émanent originaiement toutes les vérités, l'homme ne compromettra jamais, ni en aucune manière, ses connaissances rationnelles. Bien au contraire les rayonnements qui lui viendront du monde divin donneront toujours plus de puissance et de clarté à l'esprit humain, parce qu'ils le préserveront dans les questions les plus importantes, d'angoissantes incertitudes et de mille erreurs. Du reste dix-neuf siècles d'une gloire, conquise par le catholicisme dans toutes les branches du savoir, suffisent amplement à réfuter cette calomnie. C'est à l'Eglise catholique qu'il faut faire remonter le mérite d' avoir propagé et défendu la sagesse chrétienne, sans laquelle le monde serait encore gisant dans la nuit des superstitions païennes et dans une abjecte barbarie. A elle, d' avoir conservé et transmis aux générations les précieux trésors des lettres et des sciences antiques ; à elle, d' avoir ouvert les premières écoles pour le peuple et d' avoir créé des Universités qui existent encore et dont le renom s' est perpétué jusqu'à nos jours. A elle enfin, d' avoir inspiré la littérature la plus haute, la plus pure et la plus glorieuse, en même temps qu' elle rassemblait sous ses ailes protectrices les artistes du génie le plus élevé.

L'Eglise, ennemie de la liberté ? Ah ! comme on travestit l'idée de liberté, qui a pour objet un des dons les plus précieux de Dieu, quand on exploite son nom pour en justifier l'abus et l'excès ! Par liberté, que faut-il entendre ? L'exemption de toutes les lois, la délivrance de tous les freins, et, comme corollaire, le droit de prendre le caprice pour guide dans toutes les actions ? Cette liberté, l'Eglise la réprouve certainement, et tous les cœurs honnêtes la réprouvent avec elle. Mais salue-t-on dans la liberté la faculté rationnelle de faire le bien, largement, sans entrave et suivant les règles qu'a posées l'éternelle justice ? Cette liberté, qui est la seule digne de l'homme et la seule utile à la société, personne ne la favorise, ne l'encourage et ne la protège plus que l'Eglise. Par la force de sa doctrine et l'efficacité de son action, c'est cette Eglise en effet qui a affranchi l'humanité du joug de l'esclavage, en prêchant au monde la grande loi de l'égalité et de la fraternité humaine. Dans tous les siècles, elle a pris en mains la défense des faibles et des opprimés contre l'arrogante domination des forts ; elle a revendiqué la liberté de la conscience chrétienne en versant à flots le sang de ses martyrs ; elle a restitué à l'enfant et à la femme la dignité et les prérogatives de leur noble nature, en les faisant participer, au nom du même droit, au respect et à la justice, et elle a largement concouru ainsi à introduire et à maintenir la liberté civile et politique au sein des nations.

L'Eglise, usurpatrice des droits de l'Etat, l'Eglise, envahissant le

domaine politique? Mais l'Eglise sait et enseigne que son divin Fondateur a ordonné de rendre à César ce qui est à César et à Dieu ce qui est à Dieu et qu'il a ainsi sanctionné l'immuable principe de la perpétuelle distinction des deux pouvoirs, tous les deux souverains dans leur sphère respective : distinction féconde et qui a si largement contribué au développement de la civilisation chrétienne. Etrangère à toute pensée hostile, dans son esprit de charité, l'Eglise ne vise donc qu'à marcher parallèlement aux pouvoirs publics pour travailler sans doute sur le même sujet, qui est l'homme, et sur la même société, divine. Plût à Dieu que son action fut accueillie sans défiance et mais par les voies et dans le dessein élevé que lui assigne sa mission sans soupçon : car les innombrables bienfaits dont nous avons parlé plus haut ne feraient que se multiplier. Accuser l'Eglise de visées ambitieuses, ce n'est donc que répéter une calomnie que ses puissants ennemis ont plus d'une fois employée du rest comme prétexte pour masquer eux-mêmes leur propre tyrannie. Et loin d'opprimer, l'histoire l'enseigne clairement, quand on l'étudie sans préjugés, l'Eglise, comme son divin Fondateur, a été le plus souvent au contraire la victime de l'oppression et de l'injustice. C'est que sa puissance réside, non pas dans la force des armes, mais dans la force de la pensée et dans celle de la vérité.

C'est donc sûrement dans une intention perverse qu'on lance contre l'Eglise de semblables accusations. Œuvre pernicieuse et déloyale, dans la poursuite de laquelle va, précédant tous les une secte ténébreuse, que la société porte depuis de longues années dans ses flancs et qui, comme un germe mortel y contamine le bien-être, la fécondité et la vie. Personnification permanente de la révolution, elle constitue une sorte de société retournée, dont le but est d'exercer une suzeraineté occulte sur la société reconnue et dont la raison d'être consiste entièrement dans la guerre à faire à Dieu et à son Eglise. Il n'est pas besoin de la nommer, car à ces traits, tout le monde a reconnu la franc-maçonnerie, dont Nous avons parlé d'une façon expresse dans Notre Encyclique "*Humanum genus*" du 20 avril 1884, en denonçant ses tendances délétères, ses doctrines erronées et son œuvre néfaste. Embrassant dans ses immenses filets la presque totalité des nations et se reliant à d'autres sectes qu'elle fait mouvoir par des fils cachés, attirant d'abord et retenant ensuite ses affiliés par l'appât des avantages qu'elle leur procure, pliant les gouvernants à ses desseins, tantôt par ses promesses et tantôt par ses menaces, cette secte est parvenue à s'infiltrer dans toutes les classes de la société. Elle forme comme un état invisible et irresponsable dans l'état légitime. Pleine de l'esprit de Satan qui, au rapport de l'Apôtre, sait au besoin se transformer en ange de lumière (II. Cor. ix., 14), elle met en avant un but humanitaire mais



elle sacrifie tout à ses projets sectaires ; elle proteste qu'elle n' a aucune visée politique, mais elle exerce en réalité l'action la plus profonde dans la vie législative et administrative des états ; et tandis qu'elle professe en paroles le respect de l'autorité et de la religion elle-même, son but suprême (ses propres statuts en font foi) est l'extermination de la souveraineté et due sacerdoce, en qui elle voit des ennemis de la liberté.

Or, il devient de jour en jour plus manifeste que c'est à l'inspiration et à la complicité de cette secte qu'il faut attribuer en grande partie les continuelles vexations dont on accable l'Eglise et la crudescence des attaques qu'on lui a livrées tout récemment. Car, la simultanéité des assauts dans la persécution qui a soudainement éclaté en ces derniers temps, comme un orage, dans un ciel serein, c'est-à-dire sans cause proportionnée à l'effet ; l'uniformité des moyens mis en œuvre pour préparer cette persécution, campagne de presse, réunions publiques, productions théâtrales ; l'emploi dans tous les pays des mêmes armes, calomnies et soulèvements populaires, tout cela trahit bien vraiment l'identité desseins et le mot d'ordre parti d'un seul et même centre de direction. Simple épisode du reste qui se rattache à un plan arrêté d'avance et qui se traduit en actes sur un théâtre de plus en plus large, afin de multiplier les ruines que nous avons énumérées précédemment. Ainsi veut-on surtout restreindre d'abord, exclure complètement ensuite l'instruction religieuse, en faisant des générations d'incrédules ou d'indifférents ; combattre par la presse quotidienne la morale de l'Eglise, ridiculiser enfin ses pratiques et profaner ses fêtes sacrées.

Rein de plus naturel dès lors que le sacerdoce catholique qui a précisément pour mission de prêcher la religion et d'administrer ses sacrements, soit attaqué avec un particulier acharnement : en le prenant pour point de mire, la secte veut diminuer aux yeux du peuple son prestige et son autorité. Déjà, son audace croissant d'heure en heure et en proportion de l'impunité dont elle se croit assurée, elle interprète malignement tous les actes du clergé, elle le soupçonne sur les moindres indices et elle l'accable des plus basses accusations. Ainsi de nouveaux préjudices s'ajoutent à ceux dont ce clergé souffre déjà, tant à cause du tribut qu'il doit payer au service militaire, grand obstacle à sa préparation sacerdotale, que par suite de la confiscation due patrimoine ecclésiastique que les fidèles avaient librement constitué dans leur pieuse générosité.

Quant aux Ordres religieux et aux Congrégations religieuses, la pratique des conseils évangéliques faisait d'eux la gloire de la société autant que la gloire de la religion : ils n'en ont paru que plus coupables aux yeux des ennemis de l'Eglise, et on les a implacablement dénoncés au mépris et à l'animosité de tous. Ce Nous est

ici une douleur immense que de devoir rappeler les mesures odieuses, imméritées et hautement condamnées par tous les cœurs honnêtes dont tout récemment encore les religieux ont été les victimes. Rien n'a pu les sauver, ni l'intégrité de leur vie restée inattaquable même pour leurs ennemis ; ni le droit naturel qui autorise l'association contractée dans un but honnête, ni le droit constitutionnel qui en proclame hautement la liberté ; ni la faveur des peuples, pleins de reconnaissance pour les services précieux rendus aux arts, aux sciences, à l'agriculture, et pour une charité qui déborde sur les classes les plus nombreuses et les pauvres de la société. Et c'est ainsi que des hommes, des femmes, issus du peuple, qui avaient spontanément renoncé aux joies de la famille pour consacrer, au bien de tous, dans de pacifiques associations, leur jeunesse, leurs talents, leurs forces, leur vie elle-même, traités en malfaiteurs comme s'ils avaient constitué des associations criminelles, ont été exclus du droit commun et proscrits, en un temps où partout on ne parle que de liberté !

Il ne faut pas s'étonner que les fils les plus aimés soient frappés, quand le Père lui-même, c'est-à-dire le Chef de la catholicité, le Pontife Romain, n'est pas mieux traité. Les faits sont bien connus. Dépouillé de la souveraineté temporelle et privé par le fait même de l'indépendance qui lui est nécessaire pour accomplir sa mission universelle et divine, forcé dans cette Rome elle-même qui lui appartient de se renfermer dans sa propre demeure, parce qu'un pouvoir ennemi l'y assiège de tous les côtés, il été réduit, malgré des assurances dérisoires de respect et des promesses de liberté bien précaires, à une condition anormale, injuste, et indigne de son haut ministère. Pour Nous, Nous ne savons que trop les difficultés qu'on lui suscite à chaque instant, en travestissant ses intentions et en outrageant sa dignité. Aussi la preuve est-elle faite et elle devient de jour en jour plus évidente : c'est la puissance spirituelle du Chef de l'Eglise elle-même que peu à peu on a voulu détruire, quand on a porté la main sur le pouvoir temporel de la Papauté. Ceux qui furent les vrais auteurs de cette spoliation n'ont du reste pas hésité à le confesser.

A en juger par les conséquences, ce fait est non seulement un fait impolitique, mais encore une sorte d'attentat antisocial ; car les coups qu'on inflige à la religion sont comme autant de coups portés au cœur même de la société.

En faisant de l'homme un être destiné à vivre avec ses semblables, Dieu dans sa Providence avait aussi fondé l'Eglise et, suivant l'expression biblique, il l'avait établie sur la montagne de Sion, afin, qu'elle y servit de lumière et qu'avec ses rayons féconds elle fit circuler le principe de la vie dans les multiples replis de la société humaine, en lui donnant des règles d'une sagesse céleste, grâce

auxquelles celle-ci pourrait s'établir dans l'ordre qui lui conviendrait le mieux. Donc, autant la société se de l'Eglise, part considérable de sa force, autant elle déchoit ou voit les ruines se multiplier dans son sein, en séparant ce que Dieu a voulu uni.

Quant à Nous, Nous ne Nous sommes jamais lassé, toutes les fois que l'occasion nous en a été offerte, d'inculquer ces grandes vérités, et Nous avons voulu le faire une fois encore et d'une manière expresse dans cette circonstance extraordinaire. Plaise à Dieu que les fidèles s'en trouvent encouragés et instruits à faire converger plus efficacement vers le bien commun tous leurs efforts et que, mieux éclairés, nos adversaires comprennent l'injustice qu'ils commettent, en persécutant la mère la plus aimante et la bienfaitrice la plus fidèle de l'humanité.

Nous ne voudrions pas que le souvenir des douleurs présentes abattît dans l'âme des fidèles la pleine et entière confiance qu'ils doivent avoir dans l'assistance divine : car Dieu assurera à son heure et par ses voies mystérieuses le triomphe définitif. Quant à Nous, quelque grande que soit la tristesse qui remplisse Notre cœur, Nous ne tremblons pas néanmoins pour les immortelles destinées de l'Eglise. Comme Nous l'avons dit en commençant la persécution est son partage, parce qu'en éprouvant et en purifiant ses enfants par elle, Dieu en retire des biens plus hauts et plus précieux. Mais en abandonnant l'Eglise à ces luttes, il manifeste sa divine assistance sur elle, car il lui ménage des moyens nouveaux et imprévus, qui assurent le maintien et le développement de son œuvre, sans que les forces conjurées contre elle parviennent à la ruiner. Dix-neuf siècles d'une vie écoulée dans le flux et le reflux des vicissitudes humaines nous apprennent que les tempêtes passent, sans avoir atteint les grands fonds.

Nous pouvons d'autant plus demeurer inébranlables dans la confiance, que le présent lui-même renferme des symptômes bien faits pour nous empêcher de nous troubler. Les difficultés sont extraordinaires, formidables, on ne saurait le nier : mais d'autres faits, qui se déroulent sous nos regards, témoignent en même temps que Dieu remplit ses promesses avec une sagesse admirable et avec bonté. Pendant que tant de forces conspirent contre l'Eglise et qu'elle s'avance, privée de tout secours, de tout appui humain, ne continue-t-elle pas en effet à poursuivre dans le monde son œuvre gigantesque et n'étend-elle pas son action parmi les nations les plus différentes et sous tous les climats ? Non, chassé qu'il en a été par Jésus-Christ, l'antique prince de ce monde ne pourra plus y exercer sa domination altière comme jadis, et les efforts de Satan nous susciteront bien des maux sans doute, mais ils n'aboutiront pas à leur fin. Déjà une tranquillité surnaturelle, due à l'Esprit Saint



qui couvre l'Eglise de ses ailes et qui vit dans son sein, règne, non pas seulement dans l'âme des fidèles, mais encore dans l'ensemble de la catholicité; tranquillité qui se développe avec sérénité, grâce à l'union toujours de plus en plus étroite et dévouée de l'Episcopat avec ce siège apostolique et qui forme un merveilleux contraste avec l'agitation, les dissensions et la fermentation continuelle des sectes qui troublent la paix de la société. Féconde en innombrables œuvres de zèle et de charité, cette union harmonieuse existe aussi entre les Evêques et leur clergé. Elle se retrouve enfin entre le clergé et les laïques catholiques, qui, plus serrés et plus affranchis de respect humain généreuse, afin de défendre la cause sainte de la religion. Oh! c'est bien là l'union que Nous avons recommandée si souvent et que Nous recommandons de nouveau encore, et Nous la bénissons, afin qu'elle se développe de plus en plus largement et qu'elle s'oppose, comme un mur invincible, à la fougueuse violence des ennemis du nom divin.

Rien de plus naturel dès lors, que, semblables aux surgeons qui germent au pied de l'arbre, renaissent, se fortifient et se multiplient les innombrables associations que Nous voyons avec joie fleurir de nos jours dans le sein de l'Eglise. On peut dire qu'aucune forme de la piété chrétienne n'a été laissée de côté qu'il s'agisse de Jésus-Christ lui-même et de ses adorables mystères ou de sa divine Mère, ou des Saints dont les vertus insignes ont le plus brillé. En même temps, aucune des variétés de la charité n'a été oubliée, et c'est de tous les côtés qu'on a rivalisé de zèle, pour instruire chrétiennement la jeunesse, pour assister les malades, pour moraliser le peuple et pour voler au secours des classes les moins favorisées. Avec quelle rapidité ce mouvement se propagerait et combien ne porterait-il pas des fruits plus doux, si on ne lui opposait pas les dispositions injustes et hostiles auxquelles il va si souvent se heurter!

Le Dieu qui donne à l'Eglise une vitalité si grande dans les pays civilisés où elle est établie depuis de longs siècles déjà, veut bien nous consoler par d'autres espérances encore. Ces espérances, c'est au zèle des missionnaires que nous les devons. Sans se laisser décourager par les périls qu'ils courent, par les privations qu'ils endurent et par les sacrifices de tout genre qu'ils doivent s'imposer, ils se multiplient et conquièrent à l'Evangile et à la civilisation des pays entiers. Rien ne peut abattre leur constance, quoiqu'à l'exemple du Divin Maître ils ne recueillent souvent que des accusations et des calomnies pour prix de leurs infatigables travaux.

Les amertumes sont donc tempérées par des consolations bien douces et, au milieu des luttes et des difficultés qui sont Notre partage, Nous avons de quoi refaîchir Notre âme et espérer. C'est là un fait qui devrait suggérer d'utiles et sages réflexions à quiconque

observe le monde avec intelligence et sans se laisser aveugler par la passion. Car il prouve que, comme Dieu n'a pas fait l'homme indépendant en ce qui regarde la fin dernière de la vie et comme il lui a parlé, ainsi il lui parle encore aujourd'hui dans son Eglise, visiblement soutenue par son assistance divine, et qu'il montre clairement par là où se trouvent le salut et la vérité. Dans tous les cas, cette éternelle assistance remplira nos cœurs d'une espérance invincible : elle nous persuadera qu' à l'heure marquée par la Providence et dans un avenir qui n' est pas très éloigné la vérité, déchirant les brumes sous lesquelles on cherche à la voiler, resplendira plus brillante et que l'esprit de l'Evangile versera de nouveau la vie au sein de notre société corrompue et dans ses membres épuisés.

En ce qui Nous concerne, Vénérables Frères, afin de hâter l'avènement du jour des miséricordes divines, Nous ne manquerons pas, comme d' ailleurs Notre devoir Nous l'ordonne, de tout faire pour défendre et développer le règne de Dieu sur la terre. Quant à vous, votre sollicitude pastorale Nous est trop connue pour que Nous vous exhortions à faire de même. Puisse seulement la flamme ardente qui brûle dans vos cœurs se transmettre de plus en plus dans le cœur de tous vos prêtres ! Ils se trouvent en contact immédiat avec le peuple : ils connaissent parfaitement ses aspirations, ses besoins, ses souffrances, et aussi les pièges et les séductions qui l'entourent. Si, pleins de l'esprit de Jésus-Christ et se maintenant dans une sphère supérieure aux passions politiques, ils coördonnent leur action avec la vôtre, ils réussiront sous la bénédiction de Dieu à accomplir des merveilles : par la parole ils éclaireront les foules, par la douceur des manières ils gagneront tous les cœurs, et en secourant avec charité ceux qui souffrent, ils les aideront à améliorer peu à peu leur condition.

Le Clergé sera fermement soutenu lui-même par l'active et intelligente collaboration de tous les fidèles de bonne volonté. Ainsi, les enfants qui ont savouré les tendresses maternelles de l'Eglise l'en remercieront dignement, en accourant vers elle pour défendre son honneur et ses gloires. Tous peuvent contribuer à ce devoir si grandement méritoire : les lettrés et les savants, en prenant sa défense dans les livres ou dans la presse quotidienne, puissant instrument dont nos adversaires abusent tant ; les pères de familles et les maîtres, en donnant une éducation chrétienne aux enfants ; les magistrats et les représentants du peuple, en offrant le spectacle de la fermeté des principes et de l'intégrité du caractère, tous en professant leur foi sans respect humain. Notre siècle l'élévation des sentiments, la générosité des desseins et l'exacte observance de la discipline. C'est surtout par une soumission parfaite et confiante aux directions du Saint Siège que cette discipline devra s'affirmer. Car

elle est le moyen le meilleur pour faire disparaître ou pour atténuer le dommage que causent les opinions de parti lorsqu'elles divisent, et pour faire converger tous les efforts vers un but supérieur, le triomphe de Jésus-Christ dans son Eglise.

Tel est le devoir des catholiques. Quant au succès final, il dépend de Celui qui veille avec sagesse et amour sur son épouse immaculée et dont il a été écrit : "Jesus Christus heri, et hodie ipse et in saecula" (Ad Hebr. xiii., 8).

C'est donc vers Lui qu'en ce moment Nous laissons monter encore Notre humble et ardente prière ; vers Lui qui, aimant d'un amour infini l'errante humanité, a voulu s'en faire la victime expiatoire dans la sublimité du martyre ; vers Lui qui assis, quoique invisible, dans la barque mystique de son Eglise peut seul apaiser la tempête, en commandant au déchaînement des flots et des vents mutinés.

Sans aucun doute Vénérables Frères, vous supplierez volontiers ce divin Maître avec Nous, afin que les splendeurs de la lumière céleste éclairent ceux qui, plus peut-être par ignorance que par malice haïssent et persécutent la religion de Jésus-Christ, et aussi, afin que tous les hommes de bon vouloir s'unissent étroitement et saintement pour agir : Puisse le triomphe de la vérité et de la justice être ainsi hâte dans ce monde, et sur la grande famille humaine se lever doucement des jours meilleurs, des jours de tranquillité et de paix.

Qu'en attendant, gage des faveurs divines les plus précieuses, descende sur Vous, et sur tous les fidèles confiés à vos soins la bénédiction que Nous Vous donnons de grand cœur.

Donné à Rome, près Saint Pierre, le 19 Mars de l'année 1902, de Notre Pontificat la vingt-cinquième.

LEON XIII PAPE.



APOSTOLICAL LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS POPE  
LEO XIII.TO ALL THE PATRIARCHS, PRIMATES, ARCHBISHOPS AND  
BISHOPS OF THE CATHOLIC WORLD.

LEO XIII., POPE.

*Venerable Brothers, Health and Apostolic Benediction.*

HAVING come to the twenty-fifth year of our Apostolic Ministry, and being astonished ourselves at the length of the way which we have traveled amidst painful and continual cares, we are naturally inspired to lift our thoughts to the ever blessed God, who, with so many other favors, has deigned to accord us a Pontificate the length of which has scarcely been surpassed in history. To the Father of all mankind, therefore; to Him who holds in His hands the mysterious secret of life, ascends, as an imperious need of the heart, the canticle of our thanksgiving. Assuredly the eye of man cannot pierce all the depths of the designs of God in thus prolonging our old age beyond the limits of hope: here we can only be silent and adore. But there is one thing which we do well understand; namely, that as it has pleased Him, and still pleases Him, to preserve our existence, a great duty is incumbent on us—to live for the good and the development of His immaculate spouse, the holy Church; and far from losing courage in the midst of cares and pains, to consecrate to Him the remainder of our strength unto our last sigh.

After paying a just tribute of gratitude to our Heavenly Father, to whom be honor and glory for all eternity, it is most agreeable to us to turn our thoughts and address our words to you, Venerable Brothers, who, called by the Holy Ghost to govern the appointed portions of the flock of Jesus Christ, share thereby with us in the struggle and triumph, the sorrows and joys, of the ministry of pastors. No, they shall never fade from our memory, those frequent and striking testimonials of religious veneration which you have lavished upon us during the course of our Pontificate, and which you still multiply with emulation full of tenderness in the present circumstances. Intimately united with you already by our duty and our paternal love, we are more closely drawn by those proofs of your devotedness, so dear to our heart, less for what was personal in them in our regard than for the inviolable attachment which they denote to this Apostolic See, centre and mainstay of all the Sees of Catholicity. If it has always been necessary, that, according to the different

grades of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, all the children of the Church should be sedulously united by the bonds of mutual charity and by the pursuit of the same objects, so as to form but one heart and one soul, this union is become in our day more indispensable than ever. For who can ignore the vast conspiracy of hostile forces which aims to-day at destroying and making disappear the great work of Jesus Christ, by endeavoring, with a fury which knows no limits, to rob man, in the intellectual order of the treasure of heavenly truth, and, in the social order, to obliterate the most holy, the most salutary Christian institutions. But by all this you yourselves are impressed every day. You who, more than once, have poured out to us your anxieties and anguish, deploring the multitude of prejudices, the false systems and errors which are disseminated with impunity amongst the masses of the people. What snares are set on every side for the souls of those who believe! What obstacles are multiplied to weaken, and if possible to destroy the beneficent action of the Church! And, meanwhile, as if to add derision to injustice, the Church herself is charged with having lost her pristine vigor, and with being powerless to stem the tide of overflowing passions which threaten to carry everything away.

We would wish, Venerable Brothers, to entertain you with subjects less sad, and more in harmony with the great and auspicious occasion which induces us to address you. But nothing suggests such tenor of discourse—neither the grievous trials of the Church which call with insistence for prompt remedies; nor the conditions of contemporary society which, already undermined from a moral and material point of view, tend toward a yet more gloomy future by the abandonment of the great Christian traditions; a law of Providence, confirmed by history, proving that the great religious principles cannot be renounced without shaking at the same time the foundations of order and social prosperity. In those circumstances, in order to allow souls to recover, to furnish them with a new provision of faith and courage, it appears to us opportune and useful to weigh attentively, in its origin, causes and various forms, the implacable war that is waged against the Church; and in denouncing its pernicious consequences to indicate a remedy. May our words, therefore, resound loudly, though they but recall truths already asserted; may they be hearkened to, not only by the children of Catholic unity, but also by those who differ from us, and even by the unhappy souls who have no longer any faith; for they are all children of one Father, all destined for the same supreme good: may our words, finally, be received as the testament which, at the short distance that separates us from eternity, we would wish to leave to the people as a presage of the salvation which we desire for all.

During the whole course of her history the Church of Christ has

had to combat and suffer for truth and justice. Instituted by the Divine Redeemer Himself to establish throughout the world the Kingdom of God, she must, by the light of the Gospel law, lead fallen humanity to its immortal destinies; that is, to make it enter upon the possession of the blessings without end which God has promised us, and to which our unaided natural power could never rise—a heavenly mission, in the pursuit of which the Church could not fail to be opposed by the countless passions begotten of man's primal fall and consequent corruption—pride, cupidity, unbridled desire of material pleasures: against all the vices and disorders springing from those poisonous roots the Church has ever been the most potent means of restraint. Nor should we be astonished at the persecutions which have arisen, in consequence, since the Divine Master foretold them; and they must continue as long as this world endures. What words did He address to His disciples when sending them to carry the treasure of His doctrines to all nations? They are familiar to us all: "You will be persecuted from city to city: you will be hated and despised for My Name's sake: you will be dragged before the tribunals and condemned to extreme punishment." And wishing to encourage them for the hour of trial, He proposed Himself as their example: "If the world hate you, know ye that it hath hated Me before you." (St. John xv., 18.)

Certainly, no one, who takes a just and unbiased view of things, can explain the motive of this hatred. What offense was ever committed, what hostility deserved by the Divine Redeemer? Having come down amongst men through an impulse of Divine charity, He had taught a doctrine that was blameless, consoling, most efficacious to unite mankind in a brotherhood of peace and love; He had coveted neither earthly greatness nor honor; He had usurped no one's right; on the contrary, He was full of pity for the weak, the sick, the poor, the sinner and the oppressed: hence His life was but a passage to distribute with munificent hand His benefits amongst men. We must acknowledge, in consequence, that it was simply by an excess of human malice, so much the more deplorable because unjust, that, nevertheless, He became, in truth, according to the prophecy of Simeon, "a sign to be contradicted."

What wonder, then, if the Catholic Church, which continues His Divine mission, and is the incorruptible depositary of His truths, has inherited the same lot? The world is always consistent in its way. Near the sons of God are constantly present the satellites of that great adversary of the human race, who, a rebel from the beginning against the Most High, is named in the Gospel the prince of this world. It is on this account that the spirit of the world, in the presence of the law and of him who announces it in the name of God, swells with the measureless pride of an independence that ill befits



it. Alas, how often, in more stormy epochs, with unheard-of cruelty and shameless injustice, and to the evident undoing of the whole social body, have the adversaries banded themselves together for the foolhardy enterprise of dissolving the work of God! And not succeeding with one manner of persecution, they adopted others. For three long centuries the Roman Empire, abusing its brute force, scattered the bodies of martyrs through all its provinces, and bathed with their blood every foot of ground in this sacred city of Rome; while heresy, acting in concert, whether hidden beneath a mask or with open effrontery, with sophistry and snare, endeavored to destroy at least the harmony and unity of faith. Then were set loose, like a devastating tempest, the hordes of barbarians from the north, and the Moslems from the south, leaving in their wake only ruins in a desert. So has been transmitted from age to age the melancholy heritage of hatred by which the Spouse of Christ has been overwhelmed. There followed a Cæsarism as suspicious as powerful, jealous of all other power, no matter what development it might itself have thence acquired, which incessantly attacked the Church, to usurp her rights and tread her liberties under foot. The heart bleeds to see this mother so often oppressed with anguish and woes unutterable. However, triumphing over every obstacle, over all violence and all tyrannies, she pitched her peaceful tents more and more widely; she saved from disaster the glorious patrimony of arts, history, science and letters; and imbuing deeply the whole body of society with the spirit of the Gospel, she created Christian civilization—that civilization to which the nations, subjected to its beneficent influence, owe the equity of their laws, the mildness of their manners, the protection of the weak, pity for the afflicted and the poor, respect for the rights and dignity of all men, and, thereby, as far as it is possible amidst the fluctuations of human affairs, that calm of social life which springs from the just and prudent alliance between justice and liberty.

Those proofs of the intrinsic excellence of the Church are as striking and sublime as they have been enduring. Nevertheless, as in the Middle Ages and during the first centuries, so in those nearer our own, we see the Church assailed more harshly, in a certain sense at least, and more distressingly than ever. Through a series of well-known historical causes, the pretended Reformation of the sixteenth century raised the standard of revolt; and, determining to strike straight into the heart of the Church, audaciously attacked the Papacy. It broke the precious link of the ancient unity of faith and authority, which, multiplying a hundredfold, power, prestige and glory, thanks to the harmonious pursuit of the same objects, united all nations under one staff and one shepherd. This unity being broken, a pernicious principle of disintegration was introduced amongst all ranks of Christians.

We do not, indeed, hereby pretend to affirm that from the beginning there was a set purpose of destroying the principle of Christianity in the heart of society; but by refusing, on the one hand, to acknowledge the supremacy of the Holy See, the effective cause and bond of unity, and by proclaiming, on the other, the principle of private judgment, the divine structure of faith was shaken to its deepest foundations and the way was opened to infinite variations, to doubts and denials of the most important things, to an extent which the innovators themselves had not foreseen. The way was opened. Then came the contemptuous and mocking philosophism of the eighteenth century, which advanced farther. It turned to ridicule the sacred canon of the Scriptures and rejected the entire system of revealed truths, with the purpose of being able ultimately to root out from the conscience of the people all religious belief and stifling within it the last breath of the spirit of Christianity. It is from this source that have flowed rationalism, pantheism, naturalism and materialism—poisonous and destructive systems which, under different appearances, renew the ancient errors triumphantly refuted by the Fathers and Doctors of the Church; so that the pride of modern times, by excessive confidence in its own lights, was stricken with blindness; and, like paganism, subsisted thenceforth on fancies, even concerning the attributes of the human soul and the immortal destinies which constitute our glorious heritage.

The struggle against the Church thus took on a more serious character than in the past, no less because of the vehemence of the assault than because of its universality. Contemporary unbelief does not confine itself to denying or doubting articles of faith. What it combats is the whole body of principles which sacred revelation and sound philosophy maintain; those fundamental and holy principles which teach man the supreme object of his earthly life, which keep him in the performance of his duty, which inspire his heart with courage and resignation, and which in promising him incorruptible justice and perfect happiness beyond the tomb, enable him to subject time to eternity, earth to heaven. But what takes the place of these principles which form the incomparable strength bestowed by faith? A frightful skepticism, which chills the heart and stifles in the conscience every magnanimous aspiration.

This system of practical atheism must necessarily cause, as in point of fact it does, a profound disorder in the domain of morals, for, as the greatest philosophers of antiquity have declared, religion is the chief foundation of justice and virtue. When the bonds are broken which unite man to God, who is the Sovereign Legislator and Universal Judge, a mere phantom of morality remains; a morality which is purely civic and, as it is termed, independent, which, abstracting from the Eternal Mind and the laws of God,

descends inevitably till it reaches the ultimate conclusion of making man a law unto himself. Incapable, in consequence, of rising on the wings of Christian hope to the goods of the world beyond, man will seek a material satisfaction in the comforts and enjoyments of life. There will be excited in him a thirst for pleasure, a desire of riches and an eager quest of rapid and unlimited wealth, even at the cost of justice. There will be enkindled in him every ambition and a feverish and frenzied desire to gratify them even in defiance of law, and he will be swayed by a contempt for right and for public authority, as well as by licentiousness of life which, when the condition becomes general, will mark the real decay of society.

Perhaps we may be accused of exaggerating the sad consequences of the disorders of which we speak. No; for the reality is before our eyes and warrants but too truly our forebodings. It is manifest that if there is not some betterment soon, the bases of society will crumble and drag down with them the great and eternal principles of law and morality.

It is in consequence of this condition of things that the social body, beginning with the family, is suffering such serious evils. For the lay State, forgetting its limitations and the essential object of the authority which it wields, has laid its hands on the marriage bond to profane it and has stripped it of its religious character; it has dared as much as it could in the matter of that natural right which parents possess to educate their children, and in many countries it has destroyed the stability of marriage by giving a legal sanction to the licentious institution of divorce. All know the result of these attacks. More than words can tell they have multiplied marriages which are prompted only by shameful passions, which are speedily dissolved and which, at times, bring about bloody tragedies, at others the most shocking infidelities. We say nothing of the innocent offspring of these unions, the children who are abandoned or whose morals are corrupted on one side by the bad example of the parents, on the other by the poison which the officially lay State constantly pours into their hearts.

Along with the family, the political and social order is also endangered by doctrines which ascribe a false origin to authority, and which have corrupted the genuine conception of government. For if sovereign authority is derived formally from the consent of the people and not from God, who is the supreme and Eternal Principle of all power, it loses in the eyes of the governed its most august characteristic and degenerates into an artificial sovereignty which rests on unstable and shifting bases, namely, the will of those from whom it is said to be derived. Do we not see the consequences of this error in the carrying out of our laws? Too often these laws instead of being sound reason formulated in writing are but the



expression of the power of the greater number and the will of the predominant political party. It is thus that the mob is cajoled in seeking to satisfy its desires; that a loose rein is given to popular passion, even when it disturbs the laboriously acquired tranquillity of the State, when the disorder in the last extremity can only be quelled by violent measures and the shedding of blood.

Consequent upon the repudiation of those Christian principles which had contributed so efficaciously to unite the nations in the bonds of brotherhood, and to bring all humanity into one great family, there has arisen little by little in the international order, a system of jealous egoism, in consequence of which the nations now watch each other, if not with hate, at least with the suspicion of rivals. Hence, in their great undertakings they lose sight of the lofty principles of morality and justice and forget the protection which the feeble and the oppressed have a right to demand. In the desire by which they are actuated to increase their national riches, they regard only the opportunity which circumstances afford, the advantages of successful enterprises and the tempting bait of an accomplished fact, sure that no one will trouble them in the name of right or the respect which right can claim. Such are the fatal principles which have consecrated material power as the supreme law of the world and to them is to be imputed the limitless increase of military establishments, and that armed peace, which in many respects, is equivalent to a disastrous war.

This lamentable confusion in the realm of ideas has produced restlessness among the people, outbreaks and the general spirit of rebellion. From these have sprung the frequent popular agitations and disorders of our times which are only the preludes of much more terrible disorders in the future. The miserable condition, also, of a large part of the poorer classes, who assuredly merit our assistance, furnishes an admirable opportunity for the designs of scheming agitators, and especially of socialist factions, which hold out to the humbler classes the most extravagant promises and use them to carry out the most dreadful projects.

Those who start on a dangerous descent are soon hurled down in spite of themselves into the abyss. Prompted by an inexorable logic, a society of veritable criminals has been organized, which, at its very first appearance, has, by its savage character, startled the world. Thanks to the solidarity of its construction and its international ramifications, it has already attempted its wicked work, for it stands in fear of nothing and recoils before no danger. Repudiating all union with society, and cynically scoffing at law, religion and morality, its adepts have adopted the name of Anarchists, and propose to utterly subvert the actual conditions of society by making use of every means that a blind and savage passion can suggest.

And as society draws its unity and its life from the authority which governs it, so it is against authority that anarchy directs its efforts. Who does not feel a thrill of horror, indignation and pity at the remembrance of the many victims that of late have fallen beneath its blows, Emperors, Empresses, Kings, Presidents of powerful republics, whose only crime was the sovereign power with which they were invested?

In presence of the immensity of the evils which overwhelm society and the perils which menace it, our duty compels us to again warn all men of good will, especially those who occupy exalted positions, and to conjure them as we now do, to devise what remedies the situation calls for and with prudent energy to apply them without delay.

First of all, it behooves them to inquire what remedies are needed, and to examine well their potency in the present needs. We have extolled liberty and its advantages to the skies, and have proclaimed it as a sovereign remedy and an incomparable instrument of peace and prosperity which will be most fruitful in good results. But facts have clearly shown us that it does not possess the power which is attributed to it. Economic conflicts, struggles of the classes are surging around us like a conflagration on all sides, and there is no promise of the dawn of the day of public tranquillity. In point of fact, and there is no one who does not see it, liberty as it is now understood, that is to say, a liberty granted indiscriminately to truth and to error, to good and to evil, ends only in destroying all that is noble, generous and holy, and in opening the gates still wider to crime, to suicide and to a multitude of the most degrading passions.

The doctrine is also taught that the development of public instruction, by making the people more polished and more enlightened, would suffice as a check to unhealthy tendencies and to keep man in the ways of uprightness and probity. But a hard reality has made us feel every day more and more of how little avail is instruction without religion and morality. As a necessary consequence of experience, and of the promptings of bad passion, the mind of youth is enthralled by the perverse teachings of the day. It absorbs all the errors which an unbridled press does not hesitate to sow broadcast and which depraves the mind and the will of youth and foment in them that spirit of pride and insubordination which so often troubles the peace of families and cities.

So also was confidence reposed in the progress of science. Indeed the century which has just closed has witnessed progress that was great, unexpected, stupendous. But is it true that it has given us all the fullness and healthfulness of fruitage that so many expected from it? Doubtless the discoveries of science have opened new horizons to the mind; it has widened the empire of man over the forces of matter and human life has been ameliorated in many ways through

its instrumentality. Nevertheless, every one feels and many admit that the results have not corresponded to the hopes that were cherished. It cannot be denied, especially when we cast our eyes on the intellectual and moral status of the world as well as on the records of criminality, when we hear the dull murmurs which arise from the depths, or when we witness the predominance which might has won over right. Not to speak of the throngs who are a prey to every misery, a superficial glance at the condition of the world will suffice to convince us of the indefinable sorrow which weighs upon souls and the immense void which is in human hearts. Man may subject nature to his sway, but matter cannot give him what it has not, and to the questions which most deeply affect our gravest interests human science gives no reply. The thirst for truth, for good, for the infinite, which devours us, has not been slaked, nor have the joys and riches of earth, nor the increase of the comforts of life ever soothed the anguish which tortures the heart. Are we then to despise and fling aside the advantages which accrue from the study of science, from civilization and the wise and sweet use of our liberty? Assuredly not. On the contrary, we must hold them in the highest esteem, guard them and make them grow as a treasure of great price, for they are means which of their nature are good, designed by God Himself, and ordained by the Infinite Goodness and Wisdom for the use and advantage of the human race. But we must subordinate the use of them to the intentions of the Creator, and so employ them as never to eliminate the religious element in which their real advantage resides, for it is that which bestows on them a special value and renders them really fruitful. Such is the secret of the problem. When an organism perishes and corrupts, it is because it had ceased to be under the action of the causes which had given it its form and constitution. To make it healthy and flourishing again it is necessary to restore it to the vivifying action of those same causes. So society in its foolhardy effort to escape from God has rejected the divine order and revelation; and it is thus withdrawn from the salutary efficacy of Christianity which is manifestly the most solid guarantee of order, the strongest bond of fraternity and the inexhaustible source of public and private virtue.

This sacrilegious divorce has resulted in bringing about the trouble which now disturbs the world. Hence it is the pale of the Church which this lost society must reënter, if it wishes to recover its well-being, its repose and its salvation.

Just as Christianity cannot penetrate in the soul without making it better, so it cannot enter into public life without establishing order. With the idea of a God who governs all, who is infinitely wise, good and just, the idea of duty seizes upon the consciences of men. It assuages sorrow, it calms hatred, it engenders heroes. If it has



transformed pagan society—and that transformation was a veritable resurrection—for barbarism disappeared in proportion as Christianity extended its sway, so, after the terrible shocks which unbelief has given to the world in our days, it will be able to put that world again on the true road, and bring back to order the states and peoples of modern times. But the return to Christianity will not be efficacious and complete if it does not restore the world to a sincere love of the one Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church. In the Catholic Church Christianity is incarnate. It identifies itself with that perfect, spiritual, and, in its own order, sovereign society, which is the mystical body of Jesus Christ and which has for its visible head the Roman Pontiff, successor of the Prince of the Apostles. It is the continuation of the mission of the Saviour, the daughter and the heiress of His redemption. It has preached the Gospel, and has defended it at the price of its blood, and strong in the Divine assistance, and of that immortality which have been promised it, it makes no terms with error, but remains faithful to the commands which it has received to carry the doctrine of Jesus Christ to the uttermost limits of the world and to the end of time and to protect it in its inviolable integrity. Legitimate dispensatrix of the teachings of the Gospel it does not reveal itself only as the consoler and redeemer of souls, but it is still more the internal source of justice and charity, and the propagator as well as the guardian of true liberty, and of that equality which alone is possible here below. In applying the doctrine of its Divine Founder, it maintains a wise equilibrium and marks the true limits between the rights and privileges of society. The equality which it proclaims does not destroy the distinction between the different social classes. It keeps them intact, as nature itself demands, in order to oppose the anarchy of reason emancipated from faith, and abandoned to its own devices. The liberty which it gives in no wise conflicts with the rights of truth, because those rights are superior to the demands of liberty. Nor does it infringe upon the rights of justice, because those rights are superior to the claims of mere numbers or power. Nor does it assail the rights of God because they are superior to the rights of humanity.

In the domestic circle, the Church is no less fruitful in good results. For not only does it oppose the nefarious machinations which incredulity resorts to in order to attack the life of the family, but it prepares and protects the union and stability of marriage, whose honor, fidelity and holiness it guards and develops. At the same time it sustains and cements the civil and political order by giving on one side most efficacious aid to authority, and on the other by showing itself favorable to the wise reforms and the just aspirations of the classes that are governed; by imposing respect for rulers and enjoining whatever obedience is due to them, and by defending un-

waveringly the imprescriptible rights of the human conscience. And thus it is that the people who are subject to her influence have no fear of oppression because she checks in their efforts the rulers who seek to govern as tyrants.

Fully aware of this divine power, we, from the very beginning of our Pontificate, have endeavored to place in the clearest light the benevolent designs of the Church and to increase as far as possible, along with the treasures of her doctrine the field of her salutary action. Such has been the object of the principal acts of our Pontificate, notably in the Encyclicals on *Christian Philosophy*, on *Human Liberty*, on *Christian Marriage*, on *Freemasonry*, on *The Powers of Government*, on *The Christian Constitution of States*, on *Socialism*, on the *Labor Question*, and the *Duties of Christian Citizens* and other analogous subjects. But the ardent desire of our soul has not been merely to illumine the mind. We have endeavored to move and to purify hearts by making use of all our powers to cause Christian virtue to flourish among the peoples. For that reason we have never ceased to bestow encouragement and counsel in order to elevate the minds of men to the goods of the world beyond; to enable them to subject the body to the soul; their earthly life to the heavenly one; man to God. Blessed by the Lord, our word has been able to increase and to strengthen the convictions of a great number of men; to throw light on their minds in the difficult questions of the day; to stimulate their zeal and to advance the various works which have been undertaken.

It is especially for the disinherited classes that these works have been inaugurated, and have continued to grow in every country, as is evident from the increase of Christian charity which has always found in the midst of the people its favorite field of action. If the harvest has not been more abundant, Venerable Brothers, let us adore God who is mysteriously just and beg Him, at the same time, to have pity on the blindness of so many souls, to whom unhappily the terrifying word of the Apostle may be addressed: "The god of this world has blinded the minds of unbelievers, that the light of the Gospel of the glory of Christ, who is the image of God, should not shine to them." II. Corinthians iv., 4.

The more the Catholic Church devotes itself to extend its zeal for the moral and material advancement of the peoples, the more the children of darkness arise in hatred against it and have recourse to every means in their power to tarnish its divine beauty and paralyze its action of life-giving reparation. How many false reasonings have they not made and how many calumnies have they not spread against it! Among their most perfidious devices is that which consists in repeating to the ignorant masses and to suspicious governments that the Church is opposed to the progress of science, that it

is hostile to liberty, that the rights of the state are usurped by it and that politics is a field which it is constantly invading. Such are the mad accusations that have been a thousand times repudiated and a thousand times refuted by sound reason and by history and, in fact, by every man who has a heart for honesty and a mind for truth.

The Church the enemy of knowledge and instruction! Without doubt she is the vigilant guardian of revealed dogma, but it is this very vigilance which prompts her to protect science and to favor the wise cultivation of the mind. No! in submitting his mind to the revelation of the Word, who is the supreme truth from whom all truths must flow, man will in no wise contradict what reason discovers. On the contrary, the light which will come to him from the Divine Word will give more power and more clearness to the human intellect, because it will preserve it from a thousand uncertainties and errors. Besides, nineteen centuries of a glory achieved by Catholicism in all the branches of learning amply suffice to refute this calumny. It is to the Catholic Church that we must ascribe the merit of having propagated and defended Christian philosophy, without which the world would still be buried in the darkness of pagan superstitions and in the most abject barbarism. It has preserved and transmitted to all generations the precious treasure of literature and of the ancient sciences. It has opened the first schools for the people and crowded the universities which still exist, or whose glory is perpetuated even to our own days. It has inspired the loftiest, the purest and the most glorious literature, while it has gathered under its protection men whose genius in the arts has never been eclipsed.

The Church the enemy of liberty! Ah, how they travesty the idea of liberty which has for its object one of the most precious of God's gifts when they make use of its name to justify its abuse and excess! What do we mean by liberty? Does it mean the exemption from all laws; the deliverance from all restraint, and as a corollary, the right to take man's caprice as a guide in all our actions? Such liberty the Church certainly reprove, and good and honest men reprove it likewise. But do they mean by liberty the rational faculty to do good, magnanimously, without check or hindrance and according to the rules which eternal justice has established? That liberty which is the only liberty worthy of man, the only one useful to society, none favors or encourages or protects more than the Church. By the force of its doctrine and the efficaciousness of its action the Church has freed humanity from the yoke of slavery in preaching to the world the great law of equality and human fraternity. In every age it has defended the feeble and the oppressed against the arrogant domination of the strong. It has demanded liberty of



Christian conscience while pouring out in torrents the blood of its martyrs; it has restored to the child and to the woman the dignity and the noble prerogatives of their nature in making them share by virtue the same right that reverence and justice which is their due, and it has largely contributed, both to introduce and maintain civil and political liberty in the heart of the nations.

The Church the usurper of the rights of the State! the Church invading the political domain! Why, the Church knows and teaches that her Divine Founder has commanded us to give to Cæsar what is Cæsar's and to God what is God's, and that He has thus sanctioned the immutable principle of an enduring distinction between those two powers which are both sovereign in their respective spheres, a distinction which is most pregnant in its consequences and eminently conducive to the development of Christian civilization. In its spirit of charity it is a stranger to every hostile design against the State. It aims only at making these two powers go side by side for the advancement of the same object, namely, for man and for human society, but by different ways and in conformity with the noble plan which has been assigned for its divine mission. Would to God that its action was received without mistrust and without suspicion. It could not fail to multiply the numberless benefits of which we have already spoken. To accuse the Church of ambitious views is only to repeat the ancient calumny, a calumny which its powerful enemies have more than once employed as a pretext to conceal their own purposes of oppression.

Far from oppressing the State, history clearly shows when it is read without prejudice, that the Church like its Divine Founder has been, on the contrary, most commonly the victim of oppression and injustice. The reason is that its power rests not on the force of arms but on the strength of thought and of truth.

It is therefore assuredly with malignant purpose that they hurl against the Church accusations like these. It is a pernicious and disloyal work, in the pursuit of which above all others a certain sect of darkness is engaged, a sect which human society these many years carries within itself and which like a deadly poison destroys its happiness, its fecundity and its life. Abiding personification of the revolution, it constitutes a sort of retrogressive society whose object is to exercise an occult suzerainty over the established order and whose whole purpose is to make war against God and against His Church. There is no need of naming it, for all will recognize in these traits the society of Freemasons, of which we have already spoken, expressly in our Encyclical, *Humanum Genus* of the 20th of April, 1884. While denouncing its destructive tendency, its erroneous teachings and its wicked purpose of embracing in its far-reaching grasp almost all nations, and uniting itself to other sects which its secret influences

puts in motion, directing first and afterwards retaining its members by the advantages which it procures for them, bending governments to its will, sometimes by promises and sometimes by threats, it has succeeded in entering all classes of society, and forms an invisible and irresponsible state existing within the legitimate state. Full of the spirit of Satan who, according to the words of the Apostle, knows how to transform himself at need into an angel of light, it gives prominence to its humanitarian object, but it sacrifices everything to its sectarian purpose and protests that it has no political aim, while in reality it exercises the most profound action on the legislative and administrative life of the nations, and while loudly professing its respect for authority and even for religion, has for its ultimate purpose, as its own statutes declare, the destruction of all authority as well as of the priesthood, both of which it holds up as the enemies of liberty.

It becomes more evident day by day that it is to the inspiration and the assistance of this sect that we must attribute in great measure the continual troubles with which the Church is harassed, as well as the recrudescence of the attacks to which it has recently been subjected. For the simultaneousness of the assaults in the persecutions which have so suddenly burst upon us in these later times, like a storm from a clear sky, that is to say without any cause proportionate to the effect; the uniformity of means employed to inaugurate this persecution, namely, the press, public assemblies, theatrical productions; the employment in every country of the same arms, to wit, calumny and public uprisings, all this betrays clearly the identity of purpose and a programme drawn up by one and the same central direction. All this is only a simple episode of a prearranged plan carried out on a constantly widening field to multiply the ruins of which we speak. Thus they are endeavoring by every means in their power first to restrict and then to completely exclude religious instruction from the schools so as to make the rising generation unbelievers or indifferent to all religion; as they are endeavoring by the daily press to combat the morality of the Church, to ridicule its practices and its solemnities. It is only natural, consequently, that the Catholic priesthood, whose mission is to preach religion and to administer the sacraments, should be assailed with a special fierceness. In taking it as the object of their attacks this sect aims at diminishing in the eyes of the people its prestige and its authority. Already their audacity grows hour by hour in proportion as it flatters itself that it can do so with impunity. It puts a malignant interpretation on all the acts of the clergy, bases suspicion upon the slenderest proofs and overwhelms it with the vilest accusations. Thus new prejudices are added to those with which the clergy are already overwhelmed, such for example as their subjection to military service,

which is such a great obstacle for the preparation for the priesthood, and the confiscation of the ecclesiastical patrimony which the pious generosity of the faithful had founded.

As regards the religious orders and religious congregations, the practice of the evangelical counsels made them the glory of society and the glory of religion. These very things rendered them more culpable in the eyes of the enemies of the Church and were the reasons why they were fiercely denounced and held up to contempt and hatred. It is a great grief for us to recall here the odious measures which were so undeserved and so strongly condemned by all honest men by which the members of religious orders were lately overwhelmed. Nothing was of avail to save them, neither the integrity of their life, which their enemies were unable to assail, nor the right which authorizes all natural associations entered into for an honorable purpose, nor the right of the constitutions which loudly proclaimed their freedom to enter into those organizations, nor the favor of the people who were so grateful for the precious services rendered in the arts, in the sciences and in agriculture, and for the charity which poured itself out upon the most numerous and poorest classes of society. And hence it is that these men and women who themselves had sprung from the people and who had spontaneously renounced all the joys of family to consecrate to the good of their fellowmen, in those peaceful associations, their youth, their talent, their strength and their lives, were treated as malefactors as if they had formed criminal associations, and have been excluded from the common and prescriptive rights at the very time when men are speaking loudest of liberty. We must not be astonished that the most beloved children are struck when the father himself, that is to say, the head of Catholicity, the Roman Pontiff, is no better treated. The facts are known to all. Stripped of the temporal sovereignty and consequently of that independence which is necessary to accomplish his universal and divine mission; forced in Rome itself to shut himself up in his own dwelling because the enemy has laid siege to him on every side, he has been compelled in spite of the derisive assurances of respect and of the precarious promises of liberty to an abnormal condition of existence which is unjust and unworthy of his exalted ministry. We know only too well the difficulties that are each instant created to thwart his intentions and to outrage his dignity. It only goes to prove what is every day more and more evident that it is the spiritual power of the head of the Church which little by little they aim at destroying when they attack the temporal power of the Papacy. Those who are the real authors of this spoliation have not hesitated to confess it.

Judging by the consequences which have followed, this action was not only impolitic, but was an attack on society itself; for the as-



saults that are made upon religion are so many blows struck at the very heart of society.

In making man a being destined to live in society, God in His providence has also founded the Church, which as the holy text expresses it, He has established on Mount Zion in order that it might be a light which, with its lifegiving rays, would cause the principle of life to penetrate into the various degrees of human society by giving it divinely inspired laws, by means of which society might establish itself in that order which would be most conducive to its welfare. Hence in proportion as society separates itself from the Church, which is an important element in its strength, by so much does it decline, or its woes are multiplied for the reason that they are separated whom God wished to bind together.

As for us, we never weary as often as the occasion presents itself to inculcate these great truths, and we desire to do so once again and in a very explicit manner on this extraordinary occasion. May God grant that the faithful will take courage from what we say and be guided to unite their efforts more efficaciously for the common good; that they may be more enlightened and that our adversaries may understand the injustice which they commit in persecuting the most loving mother and the most faithful benefactress of humanity.

We would not wish that the remembrance of these afflictions should diminish in the souls of the faithful that full and entire confidence which they ought to have in the Divine assistance. For God, in His own hour and in His mysterious ways, will bring about a certain victory. As for us, no matter how great the sadness which fills our heart, we do not fear for the immortal destiny of the Church. As we have said in the beginning, persecution is its heritage, because in trying and in purifying its children, God thereby obtains for them greater and more precious advantages. And in permitting the Church to undergo these trials He manifests the Divine assistance which He bestows upon it, for He provides new and unlooked for means of assuring the support and the development of His work, while revealing the futility of the powers which are leagued against it. Nineteen centuries of a life passed in the midst of the ebb and flow of all human vicissitudes teach us that the storms pass by without ever affecting the foundations of the Church. We are able all the more to remain unshaken in this confidence, as the present time affords indications which forbid depression. We cannot deny that the difficulties that confront us are extraordinary and formidable, but there are also facts before our eyes which give evidence, at the same time, that God is fulfilling His promises with admirable wisdom and goodness.

While so many powers conspire against the Church and while she is progressing on her way deprived of all human help and assistance,

is she not in effect carrying on her gigantic work in the world and is she not extending her action in every clime and every nation? Expelled by Jesus Christ, the prince of this world can no longer exercise his proud dominion as heretofore; and although doubtless the efforts of Satan may cause us many a woe they will not achieve the object at which they aim. Already a supernatural tranquillity due to the Holy Ghost who provides for the Church and who abides in it reigns not only in the souls of the faithful but also throughout Christianity; a tranquillity whose serene development we witness everywhere, thanks to the union ever more and more close and affectionate with the Apostolic See; a union which is in marvelous contrast with the agitation, the dissension and the continual unrest of the various sects which disturb the peace of society. There exists also between bishops and clergy a union which is fruitful in numberless works of zeal and charity. It exists likewise between the clergy and laity who more closely knit together and more completely freed from human respect than ever before, are awakening to a new life and organizing with a generous emulation in defense of the sacred cause of religion. It is this union which we have so often recommended and which we recommend again, which we bless that it may develop still more and may rise like an impregnable wall against the fierce violence of the enemies of God.

There is nothing more natural than that like the branches which spring from the roots of the tree, these numberless associations which we see with joy flourish in our days in the bosom of the Church should arise, grow strong and multiply. There is no form of Christian piety which has been omitted whether there is question of Jesus Christ Himself, or His adorable mysteries, or His Divine Mother, or the saints whose wonderful virtues have illumined the world. Nor has any kind of charitable work been forgotten. On all sides there is a zealous endeavor to procure Christian instruction for youth; help for the sick; moral teaching for the people and assistance for the classes least favored in the goods of this world. With what remarkable rapidity this movement would propagate itself and what precious fruits it would bear if it were not opposed by the unjust and unfriendly efforts with which it finds itself so often in conflict.

God, who gives to the Church such great vitality in civilized countries where it has been established for so many centuries, consoles us besides with other hopes. These hopes we owe to the zeal of Catholic missionaries. Not permitting themselves to be discouraged by the perils which they face; by the privations which they endure; by the sacrifices of every kind which they accept, their numbers are increasing and they are gaining whole countries to the Gospel and to civilization. Nothing can diminish their courage, although after

the manner of their Divine Master they receive only accusations and calumnies as the reward of their untiring labors.

Thus our sorrows are tempered by the sweetest consolations, and in the midst of the struggles and the difficulties which are our portion we have wherewith to refresh our souls and to inspire us with hope. This ought to suggest useful and wise reflections to those who view the world with intelligence, and who do not permit passions to blind them; for it proves that God has not made man independent in what regards the last end of life, and just as He has spoken to him in the past so He speaks again in our day by His Church which is visibly sustained by the Divine assistance and which shows clearly where salvation and truth can be found. Come what may, this eternal assistance will inspire our hearts with an incredible hope and persuade us that at the hour marked by Providence and in a future which is not remote, truth will scatter the mists in which men endeavor to shroud it and will shine forth more brilliantly than ever. The spirit of the Gospel will spread life anew in the heart of our corrupted society and in its perishing members.

In what concerns us, Venerable Brethren, in order to hasten the day of divine mercy we shall not fail in our duty to do everything to defend and develop the Kingdom of God upon earth. As for you, your pastoral solicitude is too well known to us to exhort you to do the same. May the ardent flame which burns in your hearts be transmitted more and more to the hearts of all your priests. They are in immediate contact with the people. If full of the spirit of Jesus Christ and keeping themselves above political passion, they unite their action with yours they will succeed with the blessing of God in accomplishing marvels. By their word they will enlighten the multitude; by their sweetness of manners they will gain all hearts, and in succoring with charity their suffering brethren, they will help them little by little to better the condition in which they are placed.

The clergy will be firmly sustained by the active and intelligent coöperation of all men of good will. Thus the children who have tasted the sweetness of the Church will thank her for it in a worthy way, viz., by gathering around her to defend her honor and her glory. All can contribute to this work which will be so splendidly meritorious for them; literary and learned men, by defending her in books or in the daily press, which is such a powerful instrument now made use of by her enemies; fathers of families and teachers, by giving a Christian education to children; magistrates and representatives of the people, by showing themselves firm in the principles which they defend as well as by the integrity of their lives and in the profession of their faith without any vestige of human respect. Our age exacts lofty ideals, generous designs, and the exact observ-



ance of the laws. It is by a perfect submission to the directions of the Holy See that this discipline will be strengthened, for it is the best means of causing to disappear or at least of diminishing the evil which party opinions produce in fomenting divisions; and it will assist us in uniting all our efforts for attaining that higher end, namely, the triumph of Jesus Christ and His Church. Such is the duty of Catholics. As for her final triumph she depends upon Him who watches with wisdom and love over His immaculate spouse, and of whom it is written, "Jesus Christ, yesterday, to-day and forever." (Heb. xiii., 8.)

It is therefore to Him, that at this moment we should lift our hearts in humble and ardent prayer, to Him who loving with an infinite love our erring humanity has wished to make Himself an expiatory victim by the sublimity of His martyrdom; to Him who seated although unseen in the mystical bark of His Church can alone still the tempest and command the waves to be calm and the furious winds to cease. Without doubt, Venerable Brethren, you with us will ask this Divine Master for the cessation of the evils which are overwhelming society, for the repeal of all hostile law; for the illumination of those who more perhaps through ignorance than through malice, hate and persecute the religion of Jesus Christ; and also for the drawing together of all men of good will in close and holy union.

May the triumph of truth and of justice be thus hastened in the world, and for the great family of men may better days dawn; days of tranquillity and of peace.

Meanwhile as a pledge of the most precious and Divine favor may the benediction which we give you with all our heart, descend upon you and all the faithful committed to your care.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, 19th March, 1902, in the twenty-fifth year of our Pontificate.

LEO XIII.

## Scientific Chronicle.

---

### THE NEW THEORY OF ELECTRICITY.

In an editorial comment in the *Electrical World and Engineer* for April 5th last we read the following: "There is already evidence of the recrudescence of the emission theory of light, and it would not in the least surprise us to see within the next year or two the whole wave hypothesis openly attacked. The late Professor Rowland used often to exclaim: 'Who will be the Kepler of the molecule?' We do not know, but we feel reasonably certain that he has not yet appeared. We are far from desiring to cross swords with so doughty a leader as Lord Kelvin, but we earnestly wish that the next man who invokes an electrically charged atom, electron or electrion to explain physical phenomena, would kindly preface his hypothesis with a definite and consistent explanation of what he connotes by the expression electric charge.' If half the energy had been spent in the last few years in investigating the dynamics of electrical stresses that has been put upon hypotheses derived from them, we would know more about the constitution of matter. At the present the electron needs explanation just as badly as the atom or the molecule, and the whole subject is open to the charge that it is degenerating into metaphysics."

While we agree with the editor that in the new theory there is a great want of definiteness in stating what an electric charge is, still we must object to his regarding the discussion of the hypothesis based on recent facts furnished by physics as a degeneration into metaphysics. Hypotheses are the logical deductions drawn from the facts furnished by experimental science, and the deductions, if they are to lay claim to credence, must be according to the correct rules of reasoning. This is the province of metaphysics, and instead of it being a degradation to have these deductions discussed according to the laws of metaphysics, the only sanction they can have for a claim to respectability when presented to a reasonable man is the approval of metaphysics that they are in conformity with the rules of right reasoning. Had this remark not been an editorial comment of a prominent electrical journal we might have let it pass, but it must be remembered that the theories of science have only that probability which they derive from the probability of the premises from which they are logically deduced. Greater mutual respect between the metaphysician and the physicist each in his respective

sphere will tend to a more speedy solution of many of the problems that now confront both.

With regard to the new theory, it does not seem that the wave theory is to be discarded or that there is to be a return to the old emission theory, at least in the light of the discussions published up to the present. Suppose that a theory should be dropped because a better explanation of observed phenomena is at hand, this is not a loss for science, but an incentive to new lines of investigation. Nothing certain has been given up, if so it would not have been a theory. As Professor Fleming says in his article on the new theory in the *Popular Science Monthly* for May: "Each physical hypothesis serves as a lamp to conduct us a certain stage on the journey. It illuminates a limited portion of the path, throwing a light before and behind for some distance, but it has to be discarded and exchanged at intervals because it has become exhausted and its work is done."

In the *Atlantic Monthly* for May Professor Trowbridge says: "The great Maxwellian theory of the electro-magnetic nature of this to-and-fro motion (radiant energy) has been considered, until lately, in what may be termed its large aspect; that is, the motions of the ether were calculated without reference to the motions of extremely small particles of matter, much as if we should fix our minds on the motion of ocean waves and disregard the ripples produced in the water by rapidly moving fishes. There were inconsistencies in the theory which could not be reconciled until we took into account the motions of the smallest particles of matter." This is an admission that the wave theory does not explain all the phenomena. On this point the remark of Professor Fleming in the article above referred to is pertinent: "We must bear in mind, however, that scientific hypotheses as to the underlying causes of phenomena are subject to the law of evolution and have their birth, maturity and decay. Theory necessarily succeeds theory, and whilst no one hypothesis can be looked upon as expressing the whole truth, neither is any likely to be destitute of all truth if it sufficiently reconciles a large number of observed facts." Professor Fleming further says: "Maxwell's theory that electric and magnetic effects are due to strains and stresses in the ether rendered an intelligible account of electric phenomena, so to say, in empty space, and its verification by Hertz placed on a firm basis the theory that the agencies we call electric and magnetic force are affections of the ether. But the complications introduced by the presence of matter in the electric and magnetic fields presented immense difficulties which Maxwell's theory was not able to overcome." The truth is as far as can be gathered from what has appeared up to the present that the wave theory will stand and that the true explanation will be found in a compromise or reconciliation of the wave theory and the old emission theory.



Twenty-five years ago Sir William Crookes deduced from his beautiful experiments on what he called "radiant matter" that in a tube in which there was a high vacuum and through which an electric discharge was sent there was a shower of matter, "radiant matter," thrown off from the negative or kathode pole, and that this matter traveled in straight lines and with immense velocity, and that, moreover, these particles were charged with negative electricity. He showed that this radiant matter possessed inertia, for it bombarded the walls of the glass tube producing phosphorescence, rendered metal sheets that it struck red hot, turned little windmills, etc. He showed, moreover, that this material shower, in virtue of the fact that the particles were charged with electricity, acted as an electric current and could be deflected by a magnet.

The study of X-ray phenomena, as well as the nature of the radiations from radio-active substances, led to the conclusion that these could be explained by the radiation of matter in a very finely divided state. As soon as this notion was impressed on the minds of investigators they sought in this direction for an explanation of the phenomena. Naturally they turned their attention to the action of an electric current in breaking up an electrolyte.

Going back to the explanations of electrolysis, we find the hypothesis of Grothüss, which is the practically accepted explanation of the phenomena. According to this hypothesis every binary compound is made up of elements that are electro-positive and electro-negative. When a current of electricity passes through such a solution, the electrolytic action consists in a successive decomposition and recombination of a row of adjacent molecules from pole to pole, and the terminal molecules alone are so broken up that the parts do not recombine and hence remain free at the poles and there effect the decomposition of the compound. Hence it seems from electrolysis that electricity can travel through a liquid conductor only by being carried on these atoms or groups of atoms into which the electrolyte is broken up. These atoms or groups of atoms have received the name of ions, that is, wanderers.

Dr. Johnstone Stoney gave to the quantity of electricity carried by a hydrogen or other monad atom the name electron. This name was given to the quantity of electricity on the monad ion, irrespective of what the nature of electricity might be. It was considered the natural unit of electricity, and other atoms, according to their valency, would carry two, three or more electrons or units of electricity. What is the size of this ion that carries the electron of electricity?

The atom, the chemical unit, was until the last few years regarded as the limit of the divisibility of matter. But during these years there has been a discussion as to the nature of the radiation from

the kathode pole in a high vacuum tube. Is this radiation a wave motion or is it a material substance? The experiments of Sir William Crookes and others fully justify the conclusion that we are face to face with a radiation that has the inertia quality of matter. In the case of radio-active substances it is even more clearly proved that there is radiation of matter. The next step, then, was to measure the size of the material particles making up this material shower.

Professor Thomson, by measuring the amount of bending of a stream of this "radiant matter" under the influence of a known magnetic force, has determined a ratio between the mass of a radiant particle which he calls a "corpuscle" and the electric charge which it carries. His determination gives a charge of one electron on a corpuscle that has a mass of about the one-thousandth part of the mass of a hydrogen atom. A similar estimate was made by studying the doubling and trebling of the yellow sodium line in the spectrum when sodium vapor was generated between the poles of a powerful electro-magnet. This phenomenon was the predicted result of a theory elaborated by Weber, a German physicist, on the basis of the movement of small particles of charged matter. Professor Thomson and other physicists admit that we have arrived at a subdivision of matter which gives us an ultimate particle which has a mass of only the one thousandth part of the mass of the smallest chemist's unit. It is, moreover, admitted that Crookes' "radiant matter," "kathode rays" and Thomson's "corpuscles" are one and the same thing, and consist of chips broken off from the chemical atom.

A corpuscle of the thousandth part of an atom broken off must leave behind the greater part of the atom. The corpuscle is negatively charged and the part that remains is positively charged. So far in the case of the corpuscle there are two things to be distinguished, the mass of matter in it and the electric charge that it carries. No physicist claims that these two things are the same. What, then, is the electric charge? Just here there is lack of definiteness in the new theory. All we seem to have for certain at present is that an electron charge cannot be separated from the corpuscle any more than momentum can from a moving body, except by a mental concept. Hence it has become common to drop all distinction between the corpuscle and its electron charge and to apply the name electron to the charged corpuscle. It must be remembered, however, that this electron is negatively electrified; positively charged corpuscles have not hitherto been isolated. A positive charge so far is confined to the larger masses known as atoms.

From this a new theory of electricity has arisen, known as the

Electronic Theory. According to the new theory the electron constitutes what is called electricity. An atom of matter in its neutral condition is assumed to consist of an outer shell of negative electrons and a core of matter oppositely electrified. If an electron is withdrawn from an atom, what is left is positively charged; so that the electron is the natural unit of negative electricity, and the neutral atom, minus the electron, is the unit of positive natural electricity. The former is sometimes called a negative ion and the latter a positive ion. It is clear that this assumption does not explain what electricity is or what constitutes an electric charge, but simply on the supposition made states how we may have small portions of matter with opposite charges of electricity.

To explain the action of a conductor according to this theory, a fundamental principle is established that an electric current is a movement of electrons. Hence a conductor is a substance in which there are electrons free to move. Therefore the supposition is that in the metals and good conductors the atoms are easily broken up into electrons and the residue of the atom called coelectrons, and it is conceived that along the conductor there is a continuous and successive decomposition and recombination of the neutral atoms until the electron is finally freed at the end of the conductor. This explanation clearly resembles the theory of electrolysis explained above. To account for the difference between conductors and nonconductors it is stated that as the conductors are usually the metals they are of a more simple molecular structure than the chemically complex nonconductors, and therefore the electron is more easily freed.

The same theory has been applied to the explanation of electrification by friction. It states that, probably due to the tendency of air and glass to combine chemically, there is on the surface of a glass rod and on the layer of air next it an electronization resulting in the formation of a double layer of positive and negative electrons. The same thing occurs between silk and air, and when the silk and glass are rubbed together the electrons get mixed up and an excess of one kind is on the glass and of the opposite kind on the silk or they are oppositely electrified.

Ingeniously, too, is this theory applied to explain other electrical phenomena. But no matter how dexterously it may be manipulated, it always remains true that it has not as yet explained what an electric charge is. But why look to it for an explanation? Does it not but point out to us a new source for ether stresses and strains and ether waves where the ether is encumbered with gross matter? Will not the study of the kinetics of the emitted corpuscles throw light upon the dark places in the great Maxwellian hypothesis and illustrate the fact that the old corpuscular theory had in it an amount



of truth which is now reduced by the refining process of modern investigation.

This is intimated by Professor Fleming in his article when he says: "The electronic theory of electricity, which is an expansion of an idea originally due to Weber, does not invalidate the ideas which lie at the base of Maxwell's theory, but it supplements them by a new conception, viz., that of the electron or electric particle as the thing which is moved by electric force and which in turn gives rise to magnetic force as it moves."

The views of Professor Trowbridge are in the same direction: "It was soon realized that such discharges through gases resembled the phenomena of the passage of electricity through solutions; there were active and passive ions. Maxwell's hypothesis was reinvestigated from the point of view of the possible magnetic effect of rapidly moving extremely small particles of matter carrying electric charges; and it was seen that where Maxwell's large hypothesis failed to be upheld by facts, the theory of the magnetic effect of small particles carrying electric charges led to a more consistent view of electricity. It was necessary to study the small undulations in the ether produced by the rapid motion and the impact of these particles; in other words, the motion of the small fishes in the large waves became all-important. It seemed as if we were returning to a corpuscular theory of light, or rather to a combination of this hypothesis with the undulatory theory; we were coming also to the conception of a motion from particle to particle, and were strengthening our conviction that there was no such thing as action at a distance. We were forming a picture of waves started in the ether by the blows of very small charged bodies, called electrons, which moved with a velocity of many thousand miles a second and which, by their impact against solid bodies, sent out waves which we can picture to ourselves as similar to the waves excited in the air by the impact of a projectile against a plate or the fall of a stone into water."

---

## THE ERUPTION OF MONT PELEE.

The news of the appalling catastrophe following the eruption of Mont Pelee, on the island of Martinique, which involved the destruction of St. Pierre with over 25,000 of its inhabitants, has, now that the first shock is over, turned attention to the causes that give rise to such volcanic phenomena.

The old theory of the constitution of the earth as a fluid mass enclosed in a thin, solid crust has been abandoned on account of the

serious difficulties that arise in explaining the rotation of the earth on its axis and accounting for the permanence of the containing crust under the tremendous force of the tidal waves that would be generated by the attraction of the sun and moon on the liquid core. Although the temperature of the earth increases one degree for about every fifty feet of descent, and the temperature would thus soon be high enough to fuse the materials of the earth under ordinary conditions of pressure, still the pressure to which these materials are subjected within the earth increases at a greater rate than the temperature does and raises the fusion point, so that the materials cannot be in a molten condition at the high temperatures of the interior of the earth.

When this theory was abandoned the conditions of volcanoes seemed to demand the permanent presence of liquid matter in the interior of the earth, and so the presence of a liquid zone between a solid centre and a solid crust was proposed. The volcano was nothing but an opening into this zone or a vertical tube leading to the liquid mass below, the crater forming the top of the tube. The law for liquids in communicating vessels requires that under the same external pressures the liquid must stand at the same level in all the communicating vessels. This law was, however, flatly contradicted by the new theory, for according to it Mauna Loa and Kilauea are two tubes, thirty-five miles apart, reaching down to the same liquid reservoir below; still, contrary to the laws of hydrostatics, the same liquid lava stands in the tube at Mauna Loa at a level of over 13,000 feet above the sea, while at Kilauea it stands at a level of only 4,000 feet above the sea. Such conditions forced the abandonment of this supposition and the formulation of another, which postulated the existence in isolated pockets of the molten liquid which reached the surface through the crater of the volcano. This supposition, like the two former, has been generally abandoned.

The view that at present is received with most favor is that the rigid crust of the earth is fractured on account of shrinkage due to the cooling of the inner mass. Along these fractures or fissures the pressure is removed from the intensely hot materials beneath and the temperature being high enough to liquefy them when the pressure is removed, they are at once liquefied. The pressure of the contracting crust forces the liquid up through the fissure and as it rises it comes in contact with water-charged rocks, converting the water into steam, which is the chief force that disrupts the earth's crust and hurls such immense quantities of rock and lava with destructive violence and to such great distances.

The source of supply of this water has been a matter of dispute for a long time. At one time it was thought that the water found its way down to the heated regions either by its own weight or by

capillary attraction. This supposition has been abandoned, for long before the water could reach the heated regions it would be converted into steam and forced back through the same channels. According to the present views the water that plays such an important part in the destructive work of the volcano is the water that has been taken up by the rocks during their process of formation and is known as the water of crystallization. When the molten matter from the interior rises to the level at which it meets the rocks containing this water of crystallization the water is converted into steam and the expansive force of this steam is the power that causes the upheaval. Of course there are other gases resulting from the chemical action, that necessarily occurs, that play an important part in the eruption.

The first warnings of the eruption of Mont Pelee were given on the morning of May 3, when dense clouds of smoke arose from the volcano. On the 4th hot ashes covered the city of St. Pierre, and at noon on the 5th a river of hot mud ran down the mountain side to the sea, making, it is said, the distance of five miles in three minutes. On the 6th cable communication was interrupted with Martinique, and the next news filled the world with horror. On Thursday, May 8, at about 7.50 A. M., a deafening explosion was followed by a rush of sulphurous gases that withered everything they came in contact with. It is said that the whole top of the mountain was blown off and fell in a rain of hot dust and rock upon the city. The entire population was suffocated by the hot poisonous gases and the destruction was the work of a few seconds.

Important topographical changes are the result of this eruption. The height of Mont Pelee is considerably reduced and the ocean bed in the vicinity of Martinique considerably modified. In grappling for the broken cable a depth of 4,000 feet was found where formerly there was only 1,000. An interesting item is communicated by Professor Robert T. Hill, in charge of an expedition sent to Martinique by the National Geographical Society. He states that at 7 o'clock Monday evening he witnessed from a point near St. Pierre one of the last frightful explosions of Mont Pelee. He says that salvos of detonations were followed by the emission of gigantic mushroom-shaped columns of smoke and cinders. They spread out in a black sheet towards the south. Through this sheet, which was about ten miles long, lightning-like flashes succeeded each other with great frequency. They were not in a vertical direction, but in a horizontal one, and gave every indication that they were due to explosions following on the oxidation of the gases as they came from the crater. This observation gives some indication of the terrific power of the eruption, and is a new addition to the results of observation in volcanic eruptions.



## SCIENCE AND A HOLY RELIC.

Interesting articles have lately appeared in the *Lancet* and *La Nature* descriptive of the results obtained from a scientific study of the "holy shroud" or winding sheet in which the sacred body of our Lord was wrapped when placed in the tomb. This shroud is preserved at Turin and has on it in brown color a remarkable impression of the body of the dead Christ.

The skeptical, scoffing at the credulity of the faithful, have attributed the impression to fraud, claiming that it was the work of a mediæval painter. On this point the writer in *La Nature* says: "We regret that we cannot give here an abstract of the powerful arguments that tend to prove that the image on the 'holy shroud' is formed not by a painting made by the hand of man, as has been asserted, but by a sort of staining due to peculiar conditions—a brown stain reproducing the body and features of Christ as a negative, that is to say, with dark shades for the reliefs, light ones for the hollows and half-tints for the intermediate parts. We will simply say that those who have not seen the careful reproduction as a positive can have no idea of the striking impression of sweetness and majesty that is produced by the image."

On this same point the *Lancet* says: "Any idea of fraud need not be considered, for no one has touched this winding sheet since 1353, and no painter at that date had the skill to reproduce such an exact drawing. The impression of the head is excellent. The wounds produced by the crown of thorns and the marks of the blood drops are quite obvious. The wound in the side and even the marks of the stripes produced on the back by the flagellation are also quite evident. Each of these stripes has at its end an enlargement such as would be produced by a cord with a ball of lead at the end. It is well known that this form of scourge was employed by the Roman soldiers, and such a one has been found at Pompeii. Finally, the marks of the nails in the arms are not in the palm of the hand, but show that the nails were driven through at the level of the wrist."

The scientists, Professors Delage, Vignon and Colson, who described to the Academy of Sciences at Paris the results of their investigations, came to the conclusion that the marks on the shroud are due to some natural photographic action of the body on the chemicals with which the shroud was impregnated.

Such a photographic action might be explained by radiation from a body in the presence of a suitable sensitive film that would be effected by the radiations. From the physical point of view it is impossible to conceive of these radiations from the body of Christ in the tomb, and the shroud did not present a proper film to be acted

upon by such radiations did they exist. The investigators turned their attention to the study of the effects of vapors on suitable substances and the condition under which a body possessing points of relief and depression and giving forth vapor could produce an image on a screen of proper material.

On a plaster relief representing the head of Christ Mr. Colson deposited some freshly powdered zinc and placed the relief on a photographic plate in a hermetically sealed box. Two days later, on developing the plate, a negative image of the relief was obtained in which the parts that had been in contact with the plate were represented by deep shades and the others by lighter tints, as the separation was greater. M. Vignon obtained like results in experimenting with a medal covered with powdered zinc and placed under the sensitive plate. By these and other experiments it was proved that it was possible to obtain the impression of a body in relief by means of its vapor.

The next step was to study the case of the "holy shroud" and see whether the two necessary elements, vapors and sensitive layer, were present, and the conclusion reached was in the affirmative. From *La Nature* we give the results: "M. Vignon, from a study of the details of the image on the shroud by means of photographic reproductions, and M. Colson, from experiments on the action of ammoniacal vapors on aloes and from a study of the conditions of Christ's burial as told in the Latin and Greek texts of the Gospels, came to the following interesting conclusions:

"As time was lacking, for it was the eve of the Jewish Sabbath, the burial was but temporary, and the body must have been placed, without washing or anointing, in a large linen cloth soaked in a mixture of aloes, myrrh and olive oil. This cloth, which is rather a cerement and which is called in France the 'holy shroud,' enveloped the body in its entire length, passing over the head.

"Then the ammoniacal vapors from the urea that must have been present in the sweat and in the blood in large proportion, after suffering such as that on the cross, began to act on the powdered aloes of the shroud and determined its oxidation, changing it brown in different degrees according to distance and producing a negative image as in the case of the vapor of zinc. The oil also plays a part. It is acted upon by the alkaline vapors and solidifies, forming a mordant that incorporates the brown color with the fiber of the linen. M. Vignon has reproduced the conditions with a model."

On this same point the *Lancet* remarks in an editorial comment: "In the case of the sheet in which tradition says that the dead Christ was wrapped we have the analogue probably of a photographic plate or sensitized film. The cloth was impregnated with

oils and aloes. It is well known that fixed oils are sensitive to oxidation and aloes contain constituents, allied to the pyrogallic series, which would probably turn brown in the presence of an oxidizing process. The action by which, therefore, the image of the dead Christ was recorded on the cloth would appear to be due to chemical change rather than to the effect of light. On this explanation an exact image even to minute details such as wounds produced by the thorns and the marks of the blood drops and of the flagellation by whips of a definite kind is not by any means beyond the bounds of probability."

This is an interesting and remarkable instance of the way in which the latest development of scientific research corroborates as far as it can and in its own sphere the genuineness of a relic which religion has held dear. From the point of view of natural science the fact that the Redeemer utilized the forces of nature, His own creation, to leave the impress of His sacred body on the winding sheet does not destroy the fact that it is a true impression and therefore a relic of Christ worthy of the respect and veneration which the faithful have shown it.

---

## WHO IS THE INVENTOR OF WIRELESS TELEGRAPHY?

Quite a lively controversy has been carried on for some time, especially in the daily press, about the question of priority in the invention of wireless telegraphy. This is rather unfortunate and apparently useless, since so many distinct elements, the work of separate investigators, are involved in the commercial wireless telegraph. An impartial summary of the historical data in the controversy is given in the *Electrical World and Engineer* for April 19, from which we extract the following about signalling with etheric waves:

"The first name that deserves to be associated with wireless telegraphy is surely that of Hertz, who first demonstrated experimentally the existence of ether waves and devised a means of detecting them. The great step, however, as we know, in the direction of wireless telegraphy was made in the discovery of the filings detector for ether waves.

"This was first done by Professor Onesti, in 1884, and independently by Professor Branly in 1890. The former showed that certain electric disturbances had the effect of reducing the resistance of the copper filings that he used and that the resistance could be restored by shaking the filings. Beyond the observation of this fact the Italian professor does not seem to have gone.



In 1890 Professor Branly read a paper before the French Academy of Sciences, in which he described the coherer as it exists to-day, and from this description the art of wireless telegraphy seems to date. Professor Crookes, in 1892, not knowing of the Branly coherer, made the following speculative statement in speaking of Hertian rays: "On a properly constructed instrument, and by concerted signals, messages in the Morse code can thus pass from one operator to another."

In 1894 Lodge arranged an electric bell and relay in a circuit with a Branly tube, which he called a coherer, and received signals at a distance of forty yards, but suggested that "something more like a half mile was nearer the limit of sensitiveness." This experiment does not seem to have had any effect upon the development of wireless telegraphy. Professor Lodge, moreover, in a letter to Branly disclaims any right to the invention of the coherer.

The first practical application of the Branly tube or coherer was suggested by Popoff in 1895, in connection with meteorological observations. His arrangement of the tube resembles that employed by Marconi; one end of the tube was connected with antennae or air wires and the other with the earth. The tube was in a circuit with an instrument for recording electrical discharges in the atmosphere and a relay in the circuit worked a tapping hammer to decohere the filings.

The next worker who appears in the field of wireless telegraphy is Marconi. He began in Italy in 1895 and made his first public appearance in England in 1896. Since that time the rapid strides he has made in making wireless telegraphy a commercial success are well known to the public. The Marconi patent was applied for in 1896 and fully describes non-syntonic wireless telegraphy in all the details that make it a commercial success. His inventive genius consists in the coördination of many parts, some new but most of them old, into a successful method of communicating without wires even across the Atlantic.

The claims of the rival inventors seem to be solely in regard to the invention of syntonic telegraphy. As yet Marconi has not given his method of synchronizing the transmitter and receiver to the world. Whether it is entirely of his own devising or borrowed from others can be determined only when he makes known his method. Whatever the future will bring to light on this point, it will ever remain true that Marconi created the art of non-syntonic wireless telegraphy.

D. T. O'SULLIVAN, S. J.

Boston College, Mass.

## Book Notices.

---

### APPLETON'S UNIVERSAL CYCLOPÆDIA AND ATLAS.

Our cyclopædias need revision, not only to bring them up to date, but also to correct many misleading and even false statements that have escaped the attention of the editors in the original volumes. This applies to our American cyclopædias, and it is particularly true of their articles on Catholic doctrine, history and discipline. By the very fact that of late years the publishers usually emphasize in their prospectuses the employment of Catholics as associate editors, they admit, what they have been hitherto slow to acknowledge, that their readers have a right to expect the truth about Catholics and their religion as well as about other topics. Unfortunately the editors of some of our cyclopædias seem to think that they have done their duty to Catholics when they have permitted one of our religion to contribute articles on certain subjects which are manifestly in his province, and that they can allow the non-Catholic writers of other articles, in which we are interested as well as Protestants, to ignore, misrepresent and even abuse our Church. They imagine that the name of some distinguished Catholic in their list of editors should be for us a sufficient guarantee of the fairness or accuracy of all who contribute or revise the articles for their cyclopædias. In other words, if they permit a Catholic to write on such topics as Canonization, Celibacy, Confession and others similar to these, they are not responsible for anything that may be said against our religion, howsoever unfair or unscholarly it may be, under such titles as Image Worship, Reformation, Monachism, Theology.

The haste with which the revision of a cyclopædia is usually made adds little or no assurance that it will be properly made. Rivalry among the different publishing houses and the employment of newspaper methods of the cheapest sort naturally result in a rushing process of producing encyclopædias which make it impossible to treat serious subjects with accuracy or fairness. Even some German publishers are attempting to "rush" their encyclopædias, as one of their critics terms it, Brockhaus & Meyer reproducing their "Konversationes-Lexikons" at the rate of seven volumes a year, faster than the contributors can provide the articles, which must therefore be crowded into a supplementary volume. Nor is haste the only abuse in this matter. The *London Tablet* for May 17 directed our attention to a serious and obvious blunder on Anglican Orders in the *Times* supplement to the "Encyclopædia Britannica," complaining

that the entire article was not only obscure and bitterly partisan, but positively misleading.

With the latest edition of "Appleton's Universal Cyclopædia and Atlas" before us we may well deplore that its readers have not what they are entitled to get—at least a fair presentation of the arguments on both sides of controverted questions. It is difficult to account for such a defect in a work like this. One would imagine that publishers would consult their own interests, and that the Appletons especially should have learned by their experience with Catholics some thirty years ago when they were issuing the "American Cyclopædia." One would think that in these days, when men affect to make light of their religious differences, editors would be ashamed to stand for anything that savors of bias or unscholarliness. The domain of knowledge is so vast nowadays, and the well ascertained facts in every department of it are so numerous, that on purely economic principles scholarly editors can give no time, and prudent publishers no space, to what is purely theoretical or speculative, much less to whatever is purely controversial, or partisan, misleading and false. Every display of inaccuracy, partiality or ignorance in the treatment of religious topics naturally throws discredit on the entire cyclopædia, and justifies the suspicion that its editors may have shown the same spirit in treating political and scientific questions. Were these defects found but rarely, or in a treatment of more recondite topics, one might perhaps overlook them in a work of such magnitude; but it is otherwise when they occur frequently throughout the cyclopædia, and in matters in which ignorance of the real facts is inexcusable.

It is inexcusable, for instance, to say: "Bellarmine's autobiography, which had been suppressed by the Jesuits and had become very scarce, was republished by Döllinger & Reusch with a German translation (Bonn, 1887)," when the fact is that it was printed for private circulation in 1675, in 1753, and published at Ferrara in 1762, and, in the same year, in Germany, together with a German translation. Döllinger himself says: "The autobiography, though repeatedly printed, is little known."

It is certainly very partial on the part of the editors to devote fully seven columns to the account of Protestant, and but one to Catholic, Missions, giving elaborate lists of the various Protestant missionary works, with statistics of the same, and a bibliography which makes no mention of the *Missiones Catholicæ*, Werner, Henrion or Marshall, or of the many Catholic missionary periodicals. We are not surprised therefore to read under "Missions:—" "The Roman Catholic Church Missions of the Middle Ages took their start from Ireland, and included in their scope England, Scotland and



Northern Europe;" and to hear that the statistics of the Roman Catholic missionaries are "vague and unsatisfactory." If one were to depend upon this cyclopædia for a knowledge of what it chooses to call the "modern or post-reformation" missions, he would conclude that comparatively little was done in the missionary field since the seventeenth century except by Jesuits.

For one who knows anything about the history of education there is a hopeless ignorance manifested in a sentence like this under "Froebel:" "The reform of education begun by Rousseau, and carried on by Fichte, Pestalozzi and Diesterweg, finally culminated in Froebel's discovery of the method, as well as principle, of educating the human being in its first years purely by means of its own spontaneous activities." Indeed, we can recommend this cyclopædia as a veritable store-house of errors in this matter of education. Under the name itself (Vol. III., 588) we are treated to this bit of philosophy by assumption:

"Essential changes in modes of human thought have always been followed by corresponding changes in education; and a new philosophy which profoundly affects the religious nature necessarily gives rise to a new education. As the Reformation wrought a radical change in men's religious philosophy and practice, there is eminent propriety in speaking of the general system of education in vogue before the Reformation as the Old, and of the system that had its rise at that period as the New. There was not an abrupt cessation of the old order of things, for what was essential and true necessarily passed into the new order of things. The old education was based essentially on authority; the child was mainly a passive recipient, and his warrant for believing the truth of what he was taught was the authority of the book or of the master. The one great principle of learning was to believe and take for granted, to assume the accuracy of authorized statements without asking questions and without mental unrest. It is not difficult to see how such a conception of teaching and learning resulted from a system of education based on a religion in which dogma played a very large part. Again, the older system of education was addressed almost to the memory, and learning was little more than memorizing a text or a formula verbatim. In this particular the influence of religious training is also manifest. Not only was the thought or content of a text held sacred, but so also was the form of words in which it was embodied; and the effectual way to lodge the truth in the soul was to lodge the verbal expression of it in the memory.

"The later system of education embodies a reaction against the abuses of authority and memory. It appeals to free inquiry, and involves the exercise of the learner's own powers of thought and

discovery. A thing is true, not because some one has declared it to be true, but because it has the sanction of one's own reason and experience. The modern teacher therefore addresses the pupil's powers of observation, reflection and reason, rather than his memory; and learning becomes a process of discovery rather than a servile following of authority. The product of the teacher's art is not to be a disciple, docile and reverent, but an independent thinker, capable of reaching his own conclusions."

Unfounded as all this is, it throws a flood of light on the evils of the educational system in vogue in many of our colleges and schools to-day. This cyclopædia abounds in such luminous and significant passages. Take, for instance, what we read in volume VII., page 469, about the "Theories of the Origin of Man:"

"The belief formerly entertained was that man and the other species of animals were the results of acts of special creation by the Divine Will acting upon inanimate matter. When the laws of change in organic forms came to be more closely studied, it became evident that such a view is consistent neither with the highest conception of divinity nor with observed facts. A universe requiring such constant interferences would be inferior to one acting under grand and eternal laws, just as any machine is less perfect the more frequently it requires the attention of its designer. In some form, therefore, the theory of the evolution or transformation of one organic form into another is alone that which at once satisfies the reason and elevates religious thought."

But it is useless to quote further. If any one wishes to know how unreliable this cyclopaedie is, not only from a Catholic, but also from a scientific, point of view, abundant evidences will be found in the articles entitled a Becket, Adrian VI., Albigenes, Anthropology, Antiochian, Apostolic, Auricular Confession, Feigned Diseases, German Theology, Gunpowder Plot, Humanism, Image Worship or Iconolatry, Indulgences (as treated under the titles Albert of Magdeburg, Luther, Tetzl) Malachy, Mariolatry, The Massacre of St. Bartholomew, Middle Ages, Miracle Plays, Monachism, Mortmain, Nicolas de Cusa, Patrick, Philippines, Reformation, Religion, Sixtus V., Schools, Teutons, Theology, Torture, Wolsey.

After examining all or even some of these articles no one can question the truth of our charge that the writers are grossly inaccurate, partial and ignorant of Catholic doctrine, history and discipline.

Considering the mischief wrought by such a publication as this, the ignorance it perpetuates and the prejudices it inspires and confirms, one cannot help expressing the wish to have in English a truly Catholic cyclopædia; such, for instance, as our German brethren

have in the *Kirchen-Lexicon*, which may be better known to some in the French translation of its first edition edited by Goschler. Why should not some Catholic publisher undertake to translate the great work of Wetzer and Welte, or even the *Staatslexikon*, edited by Bachem; or again, Vacant's "New Dictionary of Theology?" To be more practical, since an enterprise of this kind requires great labor and expense, why cannot Catholics, clergy and laity, of means and ability unite together their resources for the production of a work so necessary and useful?

---

THE DOLPHIN. An Ecclesiastical Review for Educated Catholics. Issued monthly in connection with the *Ecclesiastical Review*. Designed to supply systematic information regarding the Religious Life, the Ecclesiastical Arts and Sciences and Practical Church Work. Vol. I., January to June, 1902. 8vo., pp. 772. Indexed. *American Ecclesiastical Review*, Philadelphia, 825 Arch street. New York, 3 East Fourteenth street.

*The Dolphin* has been a success from the beginning, but this success is emphasized by the completion of the first volume. Most enterprises of this kind are experiments and speculations in the business sense of the word. Those who launch them are not quite sure of the waters in which they wish to sail, and the ports in which they intend to trade. The draft of the ship, the construction, the crew are questions causing much anxiety. The location of the channel, the shallows and the rocks are real dangers.

*The Dolphin* was neither an experiment nor a speculation. The learned and experienced creator and editor of the *Ecclesiastical Review*, who has made that magazine for the clergy the best of its kind in the English language, and without a peer in any language, planned and perfected the *Dolphin*. It is a younger sister of the *Ecclesiastical*. It will do for the laity what the latter does for the clergy. The *Ecclesiastical* was to some extent an experiment, because it was the first serious attempt on this side of the ocean to make a first-class ecclesiastical magazine. The attempt has been preëminently successful, and the merits of the work are recognized throughout the world. The laity reap the fruit of this success at once. The clergy have seen their magazine developing and expanding, until it has reached its maturity, and have noted with pride that the lines laid down in the beginning have never been departed from; but the *Dolphin* comes forth from the side of the *Ecclesiastical*, like another Eve, beautiful and mature. The *Dolphin* is the *Ecclesiastical* edited for the laity. All the good qualities of the one are reflected in the other, and secure for it the same love and respect.

The *Dolphin* would have been welcome at any time, but it is doubly welcome now because it appears at a time singularly opportune.



We are living in a reading age. The numberless schools in our midst; the opportunities for all classes to attend them, because they are free, and they are open at all hours and all seasons, for we have day school and night school, winter school and summer school; the multiplication of free libraries, and the almost infinite production of newspapers and magazines, make us a reading people.

We boast of this as if it were a virtue, but any thinking person who examines the text-books used in our schools, colleges and universities, and notes the absence from them of all things pertaining to faith and morals, and the presence in them of misrepresentations concerning Catholic history and practice, must acknowledge that reading in itself is not a virtue. Knowledge is truth, and ignorance is better than falsehood. The newspapers are made up to a very great extent of suppositions, falsehoods, calumnies and scandals. These are served up in such attractive form as to scandalize the young and harden the old. Our free libraries are filled with novels which deal very generally with stories of disobedience, sensuality, hasty marriage, marital infidelity, divorce, murder and suicide. Boys and girls of tender years may be seen going in and out, hugging this printed poison to their breasts, and carrying it home to devour it. Young women who toil all day in the store or factory begin and end the day with the same poisonous food. How is this evil to be corrected, for it is a great evil, which threatens the individual, the family, the State and the Church? The last named institution has been divinely appointed to teach men faith and morals, but she must have agents; she must use channels through which she can reach all classes.

The *Dolphin* is such an agent. It will bring to the Christian individual and the Christian family each month the truth about the principles of Christianity, the Bible, the ceremonies of the Church, the history of the church, Christian art and Christian morality. It will show the relation of all these things to the various conditions of life in which men live and the obligations which they beget. It will teach the truth about literature and sift the good from the bad in its monthly book reviews and analysis of current novels. In a word, it will supply a long felt want and bring many blessings into the household into which it enters.

It is published especially for educated Catholics, and we earnestly hope that this class will show immediate appreciation. It has been noticed that fair-minded Protestants are unusually earnest at this time in their search for light. We can assist them very much with helps like the *Dolphin*.

For instance, an educated convert recently told the writer of this review that before he became a Catholic he thought that Catholic

literature was made up entirely of the catechism and a few other paper books about as humble in appearance. The *Dolphin* will enlighten him.

Another convert asked about the Index of Prohibited Books and its binding force in this country. The *Dolphin* answered the question most satisfactorily. These are but illustrations of the broad, fruitful field that awaits this unexcelled magazine, and the admirable manner in which it is doing the work.

---

UNIVERSAL HISTORY. An Explanatory Narrative. By *Rev. Reuben Parsons, D. D.*, Author of "Studies in Church History," "Some Lies and Errors of History," etc. Vol. I., Ancient History. From the Creation of Man until the Fall of the Roman Empire. 8vo., pp. xiv. and 624. The Author: Yonkers, N. Y.

All lovers of true history will be glad to know that Dr. Parsons has completed the first volume of his universal history. When the announcement was first made that he had begun this work, it was received with joy by all students, irrespective of creed or party. All students worthy of the name understand the importance of history. Very few have the time or opportunity to go to original sources or to compare conflicting authorities in such a way as to be able to arrive at the truth. The majority must rely on the properly equipped, studious, indefatigable, fearless and truthful writer, who will do this work faithfully, and sum up in a book of reasonable dimensions the result of his labors. Such persons are rare, and hence such works are rare, especially in the English language. This is particularly true of history from the Catholic point of view. There are many writers of English history, and some of them seem to try to be fair, but the case is hopeless.

This is being illustrated very strikingly at the present time by a discussion between the *Messenger of the Sacred Heart* and D. Appleton & Co. concerning the latter's new Cyclopædia. A writer in the *Messenger*, under the heading, "Poisoning the Wells," shows conclusively that from beginning to end, almost at every step, when anything Catholic is touched, it is treated unfairly. Hence historical facts are distorted, rites and ceremonies are made ludicrous and doctrines are misrepresented. And yet this book furnishes a very fair sample of the histories that are generally used, for the writers for this Cyclopædia quote authorities for most of their remarkable declarations.

It is useless to talk of non-sectarian historians, as it is useless to talk of anything else non-sectarian. The term is misleading. In order to correct this evil of misrepresentation we must have history written from a Catholic standpoint. Dr. Parsons takes this

view of history, and his remarks on the subject are worthy of reproduction. He says:

"While inditing the following 'Explanatory Narrative of Universal History' the author did not intend to produce a work which might be welcomed as 'unsectarian.' A careful study of the so-called 'unsectarian' lucubrations on historical matters, whether those enterprises were of Protestant, Jewish, Rationalistic, agnostic or of frankly infidel authorship, had taught us to distrust every avowedly 'unsectarian' pretension in the line of historical lore. We had found that the qualification of 'sectarian,' in the worst sense of that term, is necessarily descriptive of every historical work which is acclaimed as 'unsectarian.' When it is asserted that a history is 'unsectarian,' the would-be economist implies that the author has conducted his investigations, formed his conclusions and inculcated certain lessons uninfluenced by any religious bias; and therefore the meed of praise is demanded for a teacher who deems no system of morality to be better than another. Were the lauded scribe to decline this garland, he would evince bias; by accepting it, he proclaims his rank Materialism, or at least his complete Indifferentism.

"But is it not possible for a judicious delver into historical sources to furnish a narrative of simple *facts*, eschewing all reflections that can affect the conscience of his readers? No. A purveyor of historical facts cannot banish the odor of some kind of morality which exhales from every morsel that he handles; let the dressing of this morsel be ever so simple, it must affect the religious or irreligious palate of the one who partakes of it. . . .

"Professedly 'unsectarian' histories are a feature of the curriculum which obtains in nearly all of the non-Catholic educational institutions of these United States of North America, especially in those establishments which a prevalent grotesqueness acclaims as 'the bulwark of the Republic.'"

The author gives his personal experience as a boy in a public school in New York where so-called unsectarian history was taught, and assures us that even to the present day the misguidance which he then received threatens to disturb his juridico-historical equilibrium.

His experience was not exceptional, and therefore we are glad to learn that the pages of this Universal History are redolent of the Catholic spirit, and that in it every historical matter is treated from a Catholic point of view.

The book is well arranged, well made and in every way worthy of the subject matter. We trust that it will have the widespread circulation that it deserves, and that the gifted author will be able to complete it.



THE LIFE OF JESUS CHRIST. Embracing the Entire Gospel Narrative, embodying the Teachings and the Miracles of Our Saviour. Together with the History of His Foundation of the Christian Church. By *Rev. Walter Elliott*, of the Paulist Fathers. 12mo., pp. x. and 763 and xxv. Illustrated. New York: The Catholic Book Exchange.

The complaint is frequently made that we have too many books, and that it is a mistake to multiply works on the same subject. The life of Christ is an exception. It is an exhaustless subject, ever presenting new aspects, according to the disposition and ability of the author and reader. We have already many excellent lives of Our Divine Lord, from Catholic and Protestant pens, beginning with the primer for the little child, whose mind is just beginning to open to the beautiful lessons of the Stable at Bethlehem and the Home at Nazareth, and ending with the finished treatise for the scholar, answering all those questions of archæology, theology and kindred sciences that are wrapt up so closely with the most important event in all history. Even the scoffer has touched it, only to bring out more clearly, though unintentionally and unmeritoriously, the great truths.

This new "Life of Christ" occupies a middle place. It is for the people, and it is intended especially to excite their devotion. We do not mean that it is not complete, or that it has not literary merit. On the contrary, it exhausts all four Gospels and draws upon the other books of the New Testament for such passages as furnish additional testimony. The style is characteristic of Father Elliott, straightforward, plain, vigorous, and yet full of tenderness and piety. He writes like a man full of his subject, who has an important message to deliver, who believes every word of that message and who wants his readers to believe it.

The preface to the book tells us that it is a contribution to the devotional study of our Redeemer's teaching and example. It engaged the author's best thoughts and endeavors during several years. It is intended to help the reader to a more vivid appreciation of our Lord's life and doctrine, but its main purpose is to move hearts to love him fervently. The Gospel narrative is given verbatim at the beginning of each chapter, and the text is written around it.

The book is profusely illustrated. In addition to many full-page half tones, there are innumerable little cuts set into all parts of the page which almost tell the story alone.

Father Elliott's "Life of Christ" is worthy of the attention of all Christians, but it should be particularly recommended to the heads of Christian households. It is a book for the family. It will interest every reading member of the family, from the youngest to the oldest, and that is a singular quality for a book.

Books like this are needed in the family library at the present

time especially, when children learn to read so young, and when so much that is harmful is placed in their way. If we could only get before them in an attractive, interesting form the beautiful scenes from the life of Jesus, with His consoling doctrines and wonderful miracles, their minds would be enlightened and their hearts moved with noble impulses. It can be done with Father Elliott's "Life of Christ."

---

POEMS, CHARADES, INSCRIPTIONS OF POPE LEO XIII. Including the Revised Compositions of his Early Life in Chronological Order. With English Translations and Notes by H. T. Henry, Overbrook Seminary. 8vo., pp. 321. The Dolphin Press. *American Ecclesiastical Review*, Philadelphia, 825 Arch street. New York, 3 East Fourteenth street.

This is a dainty, scholarly, entertaining book. It is beautiful in face, and form, and substance. It sets before us, face to face, the Latin verses of the venerable head of the Church and the English translation of them by a loyal son and humble subject.

We shall not presume to speak of the literary merit of the originals or the translations; both are beyond question. The verses cover a period of time beginning with 1822 and ending with 1900. The translator thus speaks of them:

"The Pope has been writing Latin verses ever since the year 1822, and has covered well-nigh all the fields of poetic endeavor. Stately odes, sparkling *jeux d'esprit*, charades, heroic hymns, familiar epigrams on and to his friends, quotations, inscriptions—a wealth of outpourings of head and heart. Interesting as all these are because of the sublime dignity of the author, they become, if possible, even more valuable as mirroring the genial, cultured, affectionate, devout soul of the man and the priest. Among the many biographies already published, a volume of the Pope's verse, revealing in his own words the inner heart of the great Pontiff, might well seem indispensable.

"To the educated man who still retains some interest in the classic rhythms of his collegiate study, such a volume should appeal with special force, as it furnishes a splendid illustration of modern themes dressed out in the diction of Virgil and Horace. The Pope has used many metres—hexameters, pentameters, iambicdimeters, hendecasyllibics, Sapphics, Alcaics, the elegiac couplet and Ambrosian quantitative stanzas.

"The poems are arranged chronologically, and thus become a versified commentary, as delightful as it is authentic, on the marvel of the Pope's life and labors. The volume contains an ample appendix and notes—historical, critical, exegetical."



## WARNING!

---

### APPLETON'S UNIVERSAL CYCLOPÆDIA AND ATLAS.

In the June number of the *Messenger* Rev. John J. Wynne, S. J., showed in an article entitled "Poisoning the Wells" that "Appleton's Universal Cyclopædia and Atlas" is unreliable; that it ignores, depreciates and misrepresents Catholic doctrine, history and practice. This serious charge was made directly to D. Appleton & Co., and their answer was a list of three or four commendations of the book from Catholic sources. Among them was this alleged quotation from the *American Catholic Quarterly Review*: "Its pages ('Appleton's Universal Cyclopædia') can with confidence be consulted by the busy Catholic editor, or controversialist, or reader in search of reliable data. In every respect this cyclopædia keeps step with the progress of time."

We cannot find this commendation in the *Quarterly*. We wrote to D. Appleton & Co. and asked for number and page, but received no answer. We telegraphed at the last moment before going to press, but got no reply. Therefore we now deny that the *Quarterly* ever published this commendation of the book under consideration. We warn our readers against the book as unreliable and anti-Catholic, and invite them to read our opinion of it, with some grounds for that opinion, in the review in this number.



70760

**DOES NOT CIRCULATE**

THIS BOOK MAY NOT BE  
TAKEN FROM THIS ROOM

PERIODICAL



